

CLINICAL SOCIOLOGY REVIEW
Volume 14, 1996

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Volume 14, 1996

Sociological Practice Association



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Clinical sociology is the creation of new systems as well as the intervention in existing systems for purposes of assessment and/or change. Clinical sociologists are humanistic scientists who are multi-disciplinary in approach. They engage in planned social change efforts by focusing on one system level (e.g. interpersonal small group, organization, community, international), but they do so from a sociological frame of reference.

Clinical Sociology Review publishes articles, essays, and research reports concerned with clinical uses of sociological theory, findings, or methods, which demonstrate how clinical practice at the individual, small group, large organization, or social system level contributes to the development of theory, or how theory may be used to bring about change. Articles may also be oriented to the teaching of clinical sociology. Shorter articles discussing teaching techniques or practice concepts may be submitted to the Teaching Notes Section or Practice Notes Section. Manuscripts will be reviewed both for merit and for relevance to the special interest of the *Review*. Full length manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, W. David Watts, Vice President of Academic and Student Affairs, Jacksonville State University, 700 Pelham Road N, Jacksonville, Alabama 36265; (205) 782-5540.

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Editor's Preface

W. David Watts
Jacksonville State University

This volume is another in the series of outstanding work by practicing sociologists all over the world. From Nelson Foote's essay on "Frontiers in Sociological Practice" to essays that report the experiences of sociologists working where the rubber meets the road, Volume 14 is full of practical examples of practitioners using sociological theory and methods to effect real change. Once again, sociologists working at a number of levels have developed interventions that are designed to improve the quality of life for individuals, groups, and their communities.

But we need to do more. As we assess the state of the discipline and sociological practice, there are some demographic facts that we must face. One of them is that all of us are getting older. In two years, we will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Clinical Sociological Association, the precursor to the Sociological Practice Association. As happens with any social movement that becomes institutionalized, leaders come and go. Undergraduate and graduate students may not have the clear examples of sociological practice in front of them. In an effort to add another dimension to the future of sociological practice, this volume initiates self-portraits of sociological practitioners. We begin this feature with a strong one by Art Shostak. The self-portraits are intended to communicate with sociology students and sociologists who are looking for examples of how others practice sociology, so that they too may be encouraged to make the leap.

Art recently joined SPA-NET and introduced himself to SPA-NET subscribers. His essay grows out of his introduction. *Clinical Sociology Review* subscribers may join SPA-NET at spa@guvax.acc.

georgetown.edu. If you wish to nominate someone to do a self-portrait or volunteer to do one yourself, please contact me.

On behalf of both Hugh McCain and myself, I wish to thank our anonymous reviewers for the outstanding work that they have done. They are the silent but very important partners in creating the *Clinical Sociology Review*.

W. David Watts
Editor

About the Authors

Ann Charvat is a certified clinical sociologist employed by Capital Case Investigations in Nashville, Tennessee. Since 1989, she has conducted more than 50 case studies for capital murder trials and appeals in Tennessee, Indiana, and Kentucky.

Sandra Coyle holds a Ph.D. in Human Development from The Fielding Institute, Santa Barbara, CA. She is on the Board of The Institute for Deep Learning in Santa Barbara where she continues the research, design, and facilitation of Deep Learning Groups. She is also a volunteer program committee member for W.I.N.G.S. (Women in Need of Growth Services), a halfway house for the recovering, adult, female alcoholic/chemical dependent, in Naples, FL. Her research and writing focus on the self-reconstructive processes adults experience in divergent social contexts, particularly 12-Step groups. Her aim is to better understand how identities constructed amid adverse familial circumstances—such as parental alcoholism—are being reconstructed “in-community.”

Ann Marie Ellis is an Associate Professor of applied sociology at Southwest Texas State University where she has directed federal, state, and foundation grants. She has produced thirteen video tapes on substance abuse prevention and child welfare issues, and has led evaluation teams on three Center for Substance Abuse Prevention grants.

Nelson N. Foote began his career in sociological practice doing survey research to evaluate programs of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. During World War II he did similar work for the Office of War Information in Detroit, then shifted into journalism for the *Michigan CIO* and *DETROIT* magazine. After returning to Cornell University to complete his doctoral studies and teach social psychology, he moved to the University of Chicago to direct its Family Study Center. From there he shifted to the General Electric Company to manage its headquarters program of research in con-

sumer behavior. That led to several years of industrial development work in the West Indies, whence he finally returned to academia as chairman of sociology at Hunter College of the City University of New York. Since retirement he has continued consulting on development for private firms and public agencies. He has published widely on social psychology, family, consumer behavior and economic development.

C. Margaret Hall is a professor and former chair of the Department of Sociology at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. She was recently Director of Women's Studies and teaches service-learning internship seminars. She has a private practice in individual and family therapy and is an organizational development consultant. Dr. Hall has led women's empowerment discussion groups in the Washington metropolitan area for more than eight years. Her research and publications focus on the social sources and social consequences of identity, and on theory construction in clinical sociology. Her newest book is *Identity, Religion, and Values: Implications for Practitioners* (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis).

Beverley Cuthbertson Johnson is a Certified Clinical Sociologist who has a private practice at the Southern Desert Medical Center, Tempe, Arizona. She received her doctorate in Sociology from Arizona State University, where she specialized in the Sociology of Emotions. She also completed a two-year clinical sociology internship program in the Department of Psychiatry, St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City. Dr. Johnson works with individuals with emotional disorders, such as bipolar disorder and depression. She also works with couples and families. In addition, she leads the Arizona Alliance for the Mentally Ill Spousal Support Group. She is a Faculty Associate at Arizona State University West and Arizona State University East. Dr. Johnson has published the first annotated bibliography on the Sociology of Emotions as well as a variety of important articles on emotions and emotional disorders.

Martine Godard-Plasman is a socioanalyst and associate member (1969) of the *Centre de socianalyse* (Paris, France) and the *Association française de socianalyse*. She has co-authored several publications on the technical, practical and theoretical aspects of socioanalysis (1990, 1992, 1994, 1995). As a researcher-consultant, she participates in clinical intervention on industrial groups, groups in public and private administration, and groups in associations. She also attends to the documentation on related research areas and follows national and international events in clinical sociology.

Pierrette Schein is a socioanalyst and founding member (1957) of the *Centre de socianalyse* (Paris, France) and the *Association française de socianalyse*. She has been involved from the beginning in the development of socioanalysis, a contribution shaped by her abilities and professional experience in the law and with trade unions. She has co-authored several publications on socioanalysis (1968, 1971, 1992, 1994). As a researcher-consultant, she conducts clinical intervention on industrial groups, groups in public and private administration, and groups in associations.

Arthur B. Shostak earned a Bachelor's Degree in Industrial and Labor Relations in 1958 and a Ph.D. in Sociology in 1961. He taught at Wharton until 1967, and at Drexel University since. The author, editor, or co-editor of 18 books, and nearly 140 articles, he enjoys giving over 30 commissioned talks a year as a professional futurist. Past president of the Pennsylvania Sociological Society, and the ASA Section on Sociological Practice, he has been honored by the Sociological Practice Association, etc. Since 1976 Art has also taught at the AFL-CIO George Meany Center for Labor Studies. He can be reached at SHOSTAKA@DUVM.OCS.DREXEL.EDU

Lynnell Simonson has been a Certified Clinical Sociologist since 1994. She is a doctoral candidate at Iowa State University, where her studies have focused on deviance, mental health and social policy. She also served as the Director of a Crime Victim Assistance Program in North Dakota, and has published work related to that experience. Her other research interests include participatory action research, the victims' rights movement, and the effect of victims' input on sentence outcomes. She is currently teaching at McKendree College where she links the students' academic course work to meaningful community service experiences.

Nérée St-Amand, a faculty professor at the School of Social Work, University of Ottawa, was a co-founder of the School. In his 15-year academic career, he has published extensively in the areas of self-help, empowerment, and alternatives to the mental health system. Prior to his current position, he was the Director of the School of Social Work at the University of Moncton (Canada). He gained some practical experience as a worker and supervisor of a child and family services agency. He received his Doctorate in Sociology from the University of Nice.

Jacques Van Bockstaele is a socioanalyst and founding member (1957) of the *Centre de socianalyse* (Paris, France) and the *Association française de socianalyse*. During his involvement in the C.N.R.S. (Centre d'études sociologiques, Paris), he carried out work on intra-intergroup

relations on the basis of an experimental approach related to the Lewinian school of group dynamics (1954, 1957). This priority on intergroup relations led to the team development of an intervention technique, socioanalysis, aimed at client social entities non-delimited a priori. The fundamental characteristic of this technique is that it is implemented by a stable collective analyst. It has been the subject of several co-publications (1959, 1963, 1968, 1990, 1994, 1995). As a researcher-consultant, the author co-manages clinical intervention, as carried out by a team, involving industrial groups, groups in public and private administration, civilian and military groups, and groups in public and religious associations.

Maria Van Bockstaele is a socioanalyst and founding member of the *Centre de socianalyse* (Paris, France) and the *Association française de socianalyse*. She was originally involved in institutional clinical work on emotionally disturbed children, an experience which heightened her awareness of the influence of multigroup interests (institutions, family, therapists, etc.). This realization of the importance of intergroup relations in social life prompted her to create, in a team, an intervention technique, socioanalysis, aimed at institutional client entities. The fundamental characteristic of this technique is that it is implemented by a stable collective analyst. It has been the subject of several co-publications (1959, 1963, 1968, 1971, 1992, 1994, 1995). As a researcher-consultant, the author co-manages clinical intervention, as carried out by a team, involving industrial groups, groups in public and private administration, civilian and military groups, and groups in public and religious associations.

Carol A. B. Warren, who was Chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of Kansas from 1989–1996, has done extensive research in the areas of stigma, social control, psychiatry, and the family. She is the author of *Madwives: Schizophrenic Women in the 1950s* (Rutgers University Press) and *Gender Issues in Field Research* (Sage Publications). Her current monograph in progress is *The Body Electric: The Uses of Electricity from Ancient Times to the Present* (to be published by the University of California Press). She has published prior articles in the *Clinical Sociology Review* on unexpected dangers in intensive interviewing (with Tracy X. Karner) and on clinical and research interviewing.

Frontiers in Sociological Practice*

Nelson N. Foote

It is an honor and a pleasure to be invited to conclude your traversal of frontiers in sociological practice. First let me compliment you for not inflating its theme by calling it new frontiers. We have plenty of old frontiers where civilization is not yet secure.

I have just come back from Florence where the Renaissance began. It is humbling for anyone of our time and place to observe the relics of an age that generated such a fountain of artistic wealth, derived from a torrent of economic productivity that mobilized talents to their limits, to step across the tombs of Galileo and Michelangelo and Machiavelli, and to realize how rare have been such surges of creativity during the five centuries since.

It was even more humbling to read on the way home of the civilization created by the Egyptians not five centuries but five millennia ago—replete with not only pyramids and statuary that rival the masonry of the Florentines but their advances in irrigation, agriculture, engineering, astronomy, writing and the arts of jewelry and fashion clothing. Relative to our resources, have we in the West as much to be proud of? Some important things have been accomplished, like modern medicine, but the resurgence of tuberculosis and malaria and emergence of new plagues like AIDS show how precariously we hold our ground. We shudder over the horrors of slavery and the torture of heretics in the past but which century can match ours in the multiplication of agony? And what have the last 500 years done for—or to—the Mexicans or the Haitians—or the Egyptians?

*Editor's note: Keynote address to Sociological Practice Association, Scottsdale, AZ, 6/10/95.

Imminence of the next century is evoking speculation about what it will bring forth, in sociology as in other fields. Again, let me compliment you for dwelling on the near future. Development can only proceed from where one is, using the materials at hand. Every step follows from the one before, yet to move onward novel elements continually emerge from human imagination and effort. Let us therefore peer closely at what will occupy sociology during the rest of this century.

I need not remind you that academic sociology is on the defensive if not in decline, whether gauged by student enrollments, university budgets or faculty rosters. The narcissistic image of the career that proceeds from undergraduate major to attainment of the Ph.D. to tenured professorship began to implode a full generation ago, although the major graduate schools are still bent on reproducing their kind. Meanwhile more and more youngsters, attracted to sociology by glimpses of its promise, have turned toward careers in professional practice, exploring the frontiers out there beyond their teachers' ken. The size and diversity of this gathering, the organization of other bodies like it, that gain in resources and morale as they become acquainted and compare experiences, are evidence enough to assure further development of practice.

One development has already occurred, although its significance has not been fully appreciated: Recognition that sociological practice or applied sociology can no longer be intelligently construed as a mere specialty within academic sociology, one of four hundred sessions to be allotted hotel space at annual meetings. As sociology comes to be practiced as a profession outside academia, the moment is at hand for it to be recognized and organized to embrace the entire spectrum—and indeed much that academic sociology does not yet delve into.

You may find an historical analogy to the Reformation illuminating. Dissenters from the rule of the Roman hierarchy arose independently in many places—Waldensians, Hussites, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Huguenots. At first they were less conscious of each other than the Papacy was. It tried to head them off—by cooptation of leaders, by denial of respect and office, ultimately by violent suppression. Proliferating sects wasted support and slowed movement by disputing denominational doctrines but the Reformation triumphed, helped along by the invention of the printing press and dissemination of bibles; by reciprocal effects of the rise of science, republicanism and capitalism, and by opportunities discovered in the new world abroad. Analogies mislead if taken literally but suggest lines of inquiry. Three or four major graduate schools, for example, long exercised a papal kind of hegemony over

sociology, although, like the rivalry between Avignon and Rome, one pope sometimes vied with another. The reformation of sociology—or regeneration, as some of your leaders now term it as they reach across from the ASA Practice Section to the Society for Applied Sociology—has sprung up especially in many state universities. It is a grass roots movement, not led by the inner circle of the establishment.

It is not presumptuous to imagine that practicing professionals will soon take over leadership from the academics. American sociology may well be said to have been founded by Lester Ward, the first ASA president. While employed most of his life by the federal government as a paleobotanist, he had, working prodigiously on his own, before the turn of the century published his fundamental statement, *Dynamic Sociology*, followed by a formulation of social psychology, several lesser works and articles in the new *American Journal* begun by Albion Small at Chicago. Reviewing *Dynamic Sociology*, Small asserted that he would rather have written it than any other book published in America. Ward's culminating work was *Applied Sociology* in 1907. In it he dealt with some issues of his era but laid down some principles that are timeless. It still lends conviction to anyone engaged in practice.

Ward was a notable scientist of natural evolution. It is as timely now as then to absorb his denunciation of sociologists like Spencer and Sumner and the economists who fabricated the ideology of Social Darwinism to justify the ravages of the Robber Barons. As a theorist he drew a sharp line between those capacities of *Homo sapiens* common to all members of the species and those patterns of behavior learned after birth by partaking of the accumulated cultures of mankind. No objective motivated him as keenly as equal access by all to that heritage. He saw it as the source of command over nature and thus of wealth and power. His indictment of denial of opportunity to women, ethnic minorities and children of the poor was reinforced by eye-opening calculations of how much is thereby lost to society as a whole. He had no patience for those who defend inequality by claiming it to be natural or inevitable or divinely ordained. He described all social arrangements, nations and corporations, classes and creeds—as artificial, man-made, therefore open to continual evaluation and adaptation to the welfare of the living.

While versed in all social sciences, he was most critical of economics and its dogma of the economy as an automatically self-correcting mechanism that produces ideal results left unattended. He devoted much time to lecturing laymen on the evils of *laissez-faire*, the ideology wielded as the weapon of those bent on aggravating inequality. How dismayed

he would be to find this nation, for which he fought and nearly died, currently suffering the gravest maldistribution of income of all rich nations, and worsening. Yet he was no proponent of state ownership of industry or political revolution. He thought consistently in terms of dynamics, what we nowadays call development, not drift or aimless change but intelligent revision of current practice.

It may strike some academics as audacious for Ward to uphold sociology as the queen of the social sciences. If you studied the history of sociology before the Parsonian papacy, however, you know that its founders in France and England had long before nominated it to that office. Its scope has already been intimated by referring to the range of institutions that now employ sociologists. If we now scan them one by one as the frontiers of professional practice, we note that the other social sciences roughly correlate, economics with industry, political science with government, psychology with education, anthropology with the arts and the beliefs of which ethnic identity is constituted.

We ought perhaps to start with the family, from which historically and prehistorically all other institutions were split off by delegation of functions, and which other social sciences seem happy to leave to sociology. I shall come back to the family but think it makes sense to start with medicine. It is the classic model for professional practice and an institution where sociology has won encouraging acceptance. Now absorbing close to a seventh of our gross domestic product, medicine is one of our fastest growing industries. By contrast, the goods-producing industries, each dominant for a period, are drastically shrinking as sources of employment, with repercussions only dimly grasped by the public, hence demanding the comprehensive, contextual awareness of sociology. After industry we scan education, which comprises not only schools but the media and other agencies like libraries and laboratories dispensing old knowledge and gathering new. Counseling and consulting may belong here too, although in traditional societies religious institutions largely performed those functions. After them, out of conventional order but no less prominent as employer of sociologists, government. And finally, combining them to keep the number manageable, the proliferating variety of recreational institutions, including entertainment and the arts. After circling this panorama we conclude by commending the sociologists who serve these diverse clients for their progress in synthesizing, through meetings like this, those principles common to their practice in all.

Medicine piquantly illustrates how the concept of development helps to connect what follows. Especially under the influence of the spread-

ing HMO's, we observe not only the shift from the old fee system of payment for services but in the content of the services, from treatment to prevention of illness and positive pursuit of fitness through diet, exercise, sanitation and environmental protection. These cause one to lift an eyebrow over promotion of the therapeutic stance among sociologists. The rearrangements of social relations forced by aging of our population, growth of sedentary occupations, inequality of access to services, and conflict over financing, not to mention the changing incidence of illness and injury, all call for further applications of sociology. Whoever designs these rearrangements is practicing sociology, whatever title he goes by. Physicians present a relevant model by referring clients to specialists who have acquired knowledge, skill and insight beyond those that accrue without specialization.

The practice of medicine, however, like the practice of sociology, cannot be conducted entirely by state-certified professionals. In recent decades we have come to appreciate the contributions to physical and mental health made by support groups enlisting fellow-sufferers—from addictions to disabilities to grief, from psychosis to marital strife to gambling. Another frontier now opening is alternative medicine, each kind of which challenges some premise of the orthodox paradigm that reduces the human organism to a physical, chemical and biological mechanism and transforms many physicians' offices, hospitals and clinics into factory-type assembly lines with pill or surgery specified by computer for each ailment. Investigation of these conflicting premises challenges the methods of both medical and sociological research. And other territories to be explored stretch beyond present imagination.

For too long the study of economic institutions has been left to economists who reduce them to a hydraulic mechanism of flows of money that circulate as if untouched by human hands. I spent more than a dozen years of my life practicing sociology within a huge corporation. I was never granted the title of sociologist, although some economists there, while confined to forecasting, were termed economists. Had they been hired to analyze the structure of the corporation and recommend adaptations better to serve its constituents, that would have been to practice sociology, but reorganization was left to lawyers and accountants, neither of whom qualify as social scientists. Business firms present an immense vista for applied sociologists to encompass. Insofar as corporate managers consult social scientists, apart from forecasting it has usually been with regard to marketing and personnel management. Too often they have been confined to enhancing sales or eliciting effort from em-

ployees, too rarely asked to recommend directions for investment or to amend the constitutions of corporate government. Managers are too concentrated on their upward movement in the bureaucracy and on maximizing return to absentee investors to appreciate long-term implications of the policies they pursue, even in marketing and personnel. Yet the consequences calculable from the trajectories displayed by their day-to-day decision-making are inescapable, far more predictable and far more fateful than the daily fluctuations which preoccupy them.

Sociologists employed by corporations do themselves the most good if from the outset they can define themselves as professionals worthy of as much respect as lawyers or accountants. To acquiesce to subordination within bureaucracies that strangle the capacities of industry to produce plenty and end poverty in the world is to act as accomplices. It is impossible seriously to contemplate the urgent expansion and upgrading of employment without restructuring corporate government, a task in addressing which political scientists have been as delinquent as economists. It is impossible seriously to contemplate expanding and upgrading demand for output sufficient to employ the labor force extruded from the extractive and fabricative industries without cultivating new tastes as assiduously as seeking new knowledge. A few economists have finally perceived that the potential for unlimited economic growth lies not in adding plant and equipment to industry but by cultivating the talents of producers—investment in human capital, as they put it. Abiding by their older premises, however, they concede that such investment will come only sparsely if at all from private firms, the “fiduciary responsibility” of whose directors is to invest in nothing that will confer benefits on competitors, on employees who change employers, or on future generations, benefits current owners cannot capture. On the scale of societal architecture, who beside applied sociologists is concerned or equipped to display to public view the worsening stratification of our society that divides it and defeats its ideals of freedom and equality? The consequences keep ramifying. Social work and clinical psychology now find as many clients among the so-called middle class as among the poor. Disemployment—though still disguised or concealed by many—has even invaded “middle management.”

That trend nicely illustrates the responsibility sociology has to resist the polarization of practice between micro and macro approaches, as gratuitous as that between qualitative and quantitative. Over the years I have known many persons who, when dismissed from a job, wondered what was wrong with them, considered themselves failures, burdened

or abused others around them, some turning to psychotherapy. A person in misery deserves solace and support from friends but to treat disemployment as only an emotional problem of the suffering individual raises ethical and theoretical problems which sociologists should be first to perceive. What a disemployed person most needs is not psychotherapy but a job! The same applies to the underemployed person who hates his work. But he or she—indeed all of us—need much more than that. Every person needs the opportunity and the means to produce something that the rest of the world wants. It is from satisfying reciprocal relations with others that one derives the sense of worth and self-esteem and those other sources of confidence and creativity that are not provided simply by treating him as a patient seeking remedy for an internal ill. This is not the time or place to pursue it further, but high on the agenda for sociological practice belongs some constructive controversy over the psychotherapeutic stance as a model.

Psychology makes at best an ambiguous claim to being a social science. Much of its content is a branch of biology. Its strongest claim is based on its study of learning. But even that is compromised by those psychologists who construe learning as limited by inherited degrees of intelligence. Its explanation of kinds of behavior by attributing them to traits—tendencies toward those kind of behavior resident in the individual—is tautological. Its approach to personality as private possession or ineluctable fate conflicts with the basic premise of sociology that we are all products of our relations with others, which must change if we are to change. Too much of social psychology is preoccupied with trying to bridge the gulf between micro and macro, when by definition personal identity refers to how one is designated—by self or others—in relation to those on whom he or she depends. Yet despite these misgivings I visualize a boundless frontier for the application in educational institutions of “sociological social psychology” to the identification of nascent tastes and talents among persons at all ages, and to discernment of optimal conditions for cultivating their development.

Such an approach to education harks back to etymology of the term, which originally meant to draw forth. Drawing forth collides with the vulgar notion of education as only transmission and memorization of information. An ominous implication of that popular premise is that teachers will soon be replaced by computers and multimedia data banks. Beleaguered educational institutions need sociological practitioners. While I deplore the current irrelevance of much academic sociology, this not the moment for universities to throw sociology out, as some

threaten, but to invite applied sociologists in. Neither should applied sociologists spurn their *alma maters* but take them as clients to whom they owe conscientious service.

Out of conventional order, let us come back briefly to government. To no institution has sociology been applied more anciently, certainly as far back as Plato's Republic or Aristotle's Poetics. Some say modern sociology began not with Comte but with Montesquieu and The Spirit of the Laws, which first laid out the separation of powers embodied in most current constitutions. At the moment, however, despite all the agitation over what should be in public hands and what in private, I see the political frontier most in need of exploration by sociologists to be that of industrial self-government—i.e., employee ownership of private corporations, taking them out of the control of absentee investors who want them managed exclusively to render them maximum return. With the collapse of communism, that grand developmental alternative to capitalist and socialist models now beckons ahead. It sets before you an intellectual feast that will engross the lifetime of the youngest here so is hardly to be swallowed in one gulp.

Let me therefore switch to a dish that is more familiar and easier to put your tongue around, evaluation of governmental programs. That was where I got started 55 years ago and have done intermittently ever since. Many in this audience have been likewise so employed. I deplore the cutbacks being made by politicians in funds for that purpose, irrational if their aim is to assure that taxes are well spent. I also deplore the notion that government should freely award grants to academics to pursue projects of no discernible value to anyone except themselves. But I have a bone to pick with practitioners who in designing evaluations erect arbitrary criteria *post factum* for the success of programs rather than insisting that the only legitimate criteria are those built into each program from its beginning. Alas, I do not know any academic sociologist writing about organization theory or any applied sociologist consulting on organization development who designs schemes for built-in evaluation that feed back to personnel and clientele regular indices of how well or poorly they realize their intentions under varying circumstances. Now and again someone mentions that "the Hawthorne effect" could perhaps be put to systematic use but so far, as the epithet goes, the evidence is anecdotal. Nonetheless, if there is any magic to be performed by means of sociology, I think it will be devised by exploring and experimenting with the reflexive effects upon the quality of collaboration of displaying to the actors how they are doing, as they are doing it.

A century ago Lester Ward proposed that legislatures employ sociologists rather than lawyers to design, evaluate and redesign their regulations. His idea was not absurdly visionary, because in effect that is what happens anyway, but with massive waste and damage, inexcusable delay, mutual injury, pain and grief. If the purpose of social science, as Harry Stack Sullivan said of psychiatry, is to facilitate living, then evaluation is an opportunity we have already held in our hands and should not let slip away.

Two more institutions to go, recreation and the family. Some fascinating questions invite sociologists in the direction of play and the arts, questions that the academics have strangely neglected, like the distinction between unemployment and leisure, work and play, or the ambiguities of art and play performed for pay, as in sports. The decrease of the workweek among those employed, along with increased incomes, has elevated entertainment, including tourism, to one of our largest and fastest-growing industries, and with it employment of sociologists in audience research, management consulting, urban planning and career counseling. From practice in these fields one derives insights into matters like the sources of joy in work, absence of which accounts for much resort to inane entertainment. As a dabbler myself in the management of music concerts, I have been fascinated by the power of the right kind of audience to evoke superior performance from artists. By involvement here sociologists gain opportunities to illuminate pressing issues like public support for the arts *versus* their domination by advertisers who exploit violence and sex to gain attention for their wares. These issues grow in salience when small nations come to depend on tourism or communities resist obliteration of their character by commercial chains. Apart from politics, play and the arts teem with internal issues, like amateurism *versus* professionalism, elitism *versus* pluralism, fashion *versus* tradition, artistry *versus* technique. Here again sociological practice can step forth not only as renovator of academic sociology but of the role of the entire university as critic and counselor to communities at large.

And now to the family. Its centrality to sociology goes back as far as Leplay's original studies of family budgets. To this moment family budgets remain the vehicles by which the offerings of the other institutions and industries are allocated and integrated within the lives of consumers. Consumer behavior does not consist only of purchases of goods; it distributes household income and time among work and play, saving and borrowing, giving and investing. Profit-making firms, non-profit associations and governments all compete for the favor of families. When

I left academia for marketing research, I learned much from my new colleagues but I believe they found I had something to teach them.

Applications of sociology to marketing the products of employers, however, is only half the task of professional practice. Our prime obligation may not be to our ostensible client but to our client's clients. Here we come to an issue not addressed in many codes of ethics devised by committees of our various bodies. I found that some of my most valuable contributions to my corporate employer were as the advocate of its customers. Many medical sociologists feel they best justify their presence as the advocate of patients. My first task in the Department of Agriculture was to convey the reactions of farmers directly to the Secretary, short-circuiting the layers of bureaucracy that distort messages on their way to the top.

At the end of the day, as we now say, it is the folks out there in families whom we should take as our ultimate clients. Ideally we should regard our institutional employers—and they us—as colleagues. While we owe much to our colleagues, and they to us, the essence of professional ethics is not loyalty to them but to clients. Have you ever asked yourself how professional ethics differ from just plain ethics? Offenses against colleagues are not violations of professional ethics, only of ethics, but betrayals of the trust of clients violate both. Too often cases of malpractice are defended by putting loyalty to colleagues first. Service to clients is what practice is all about.

In the terms just stated, should family sociologists take the parent as their client or should they take the child? I say child. Let the parent be construed as our colleague, often an amateur just beginning his or her career with their first child. If social scientists in general are to conceive development henceforth as originating with the discovery and cultivation of human tastes and talents, then development begins at birth and entails collaboration throughout life with those others on whom the person unremittingly depends. So understood, no occupation is as strategic an instrument for development as responsibility for care of the child when it is most dependent. When contemplating the consequences of the process of unnatural selection by which persons obtain the role of parents, one can only shake his head over the folly of turning parenthood over to nannies and mammies, to sitters and servants, to boarding schools and commercial services. Child care is one of the most underappreciated, underpaid and underprofessionalized vocations in our labor force. And yet many who make their living by caring for other people's children do far better than the parents who hire them. The fam-

ily presents many tasks for applied sociologists. The incompetence of marriage partners to manage their relations usually grabs center stage, followed by enemies that attack from outside like unemployment, addiction and the commercial media of entertainment. But I consider no agenda deserve higher priority than the professionalization of parenthood through the professionalization of child care. No longer can contemporary society rely upon parents to teach their children how to become competent parents in turn. In effect we have next to establish the profession of parent care, to elevate it from one of the most despised to the most honored vocation. Planned Parenthood has long set as its goal "every child a wanted child." In sociological practice, conceived comprehensively as the program for human development, every person becomes a wanted person.

No sociologist should over-estimate how ready our fellow creatures are to amend their habits when we enable them to see themselves as others see them. Some are so shakily in command of their situations that they react to the mildest suggestion as a mortal insult. Parents are notoriously jealous to defend their dictatorship over their subjects. Criminologists have long pointed out that many crimes, maybe even most murders, go unreported; of those reported, few are investigated; fewer of those lead to arrests, fewer to trials and fewer still to convictions. Nonetheless the vindictiveness of the public is focused on the losers who finally land in prison. Meanwhile we see states budgeting more for prisons than for higher education, while cries for capital punishment fill death rows to bursting. Nonetheless I daresay some sitting here feel emotional discomfort when I assert that violence in our society traces back to corporal punishment of children. The family is the most sensitive of clients in every sense of sensitive.

Hazardous as it may be, I would nonetheless generalize further to suggest that a major office of the applied sociologist is to attack false premises on which clients base their actions. The economist Joseph Schumpeter praised capitalism for what he termed its "creative destruction" of inefficient firms by innovative competitors. Unfortunately, as economists are wont, he overlooked how relentlessly commercial competition eliminates competitors, not by innovation but by consolidation. Lester Ward strove diligently in the days of the Robber Barons to destroy the premise of perfect competition, winning the applause of Theodore Roosevelt and other trust-busters. But in our day of mergers and acquisitions, of multinational conglomerates assembled by megalomaniac financiers, of presidents and attorneys-general who stifle their

own antitrust watchmen, and of economists who trumpet the virtues of economies of scale, it takes a stout heart to uphold the standard of fair competition that prevails in games as the right model for business.

Let us not pretend that we ourselves are free of false premises. Even the TIAA and labor unions whose members face the miseries of "downsizing" invest their pension funds where returns are highest, thus becoming accomplices of those who elevate unearned income at the expense of those who earn their living by producing something of value. Or take a more innocent example: Many of our colleagues assume that applied sociology is synonymous with applied social research done for clients who pay them for it. That notion overlooks the storehouse of existing knowledge available for application. A conscientious consultant often finds that what the client needs to know is already known and has only to be brought to bear, saving not only time and money but engendering respect for our discipline. To see one's craft as only the collection of new data is to belittle it; to pretend it is necessary when it is not is malpractice.

Beginners may fear to offend a client by disclosing false premises on which it operates—and indeed may so offend. But the beginner must also be prepared for the opposite reaction from clients, not to be taken seriously. Merely to be awarded a grant or contract or job does not prove the client is truly serious. Exchanges of experience about such matters is a vital function of workshops at meetings like this, a source of appropriate instruction not available as yet in textbooks.

Professionalization, however, consists of more than training beginners. It is a trend in every occupation and institution. It advances not only through innovation in technology and artistry among producers of goods and services but through rising sophistication among clients and customers. With employment in producing goods shrinking, the proportions of work performed in all fields by paraprofessionals and professionals is expanding correspondingly—if not fast enough to keep up. What that trajectory bodes should be obvious but its significance may be slow to register, that the clients of every profession consist more and more of members of other professions, able to demand improving performance by their suppliers.

Let me hark back to the last big turning point in higher education, the one that followed the GI Bill. Student attraction to sociology crested in the late Sixties, excited by the civil rights movement, the women's movement and the War on Poverty. One of the quieter contributions of sociological practice during that period was installation in many schools

of student evaluation of teaching and its use in personnel decisions. Not all that advance was owing to academic sociologists, some of whom bitterly spurned it as another outrage of the New Left. Some of the decline of sociology since, may be owing to that rift, but broader influences were operating. Many students who might have gone into sociology, soon after turned toward getting MBA's, programming computers, writing commercials and so on. One generation became separated from the next as if by a watershed. Let me therefore ask if we are not now approaching another watershed between generations, perhaps again to be reflected in national elections, with students of sociology again presented with opportunity to play strategic roles.

If so, it makes sense now to glance backward from our cursory flight over the institutions that employ us to abstract some principles that, if explicitly declared, may better prepare our successors:

First, sociological practice is not an exotic specialty within academic sociology but embraces the entire discipline.

Second, one of its major functions is to reveal to every other profession and institution how it is evaluated by its clients.

Third, because all clients are becoming professionalized, they require as much respect as one shows colleagues—and more loyalty.

Fourth, insofar as other institutions undertake to rearrange relations between their personnels and clienteles, they utilize and practice sociology, whether wittingly or not.

Fifth, just as physicians in practice greatly outnumber those who teach in medical schools, so do those who practice sociology outnumber the academics. For raising their consciousness and competence and ethics, neither they nor we can rely on academics with no interest in practice. The first priority in organizing practitioners therefore is to reach out to non-academics with a vision of the potential significance of their roles.

Sixth, because all human actions must utilize assumptions founded on insufficient evidence, a major responsibility of sociology is continually to render those assumptions either more trustworthy or obsolete by bringing further knowledge to bear.

Seventh, as John Dewey prophesied long ago, all of human behavior is exploratory, not instinctive, and should therefore be conducted as a chain of participant experiments, with results subject to recurrent revision.

Whether we term it renaissance or reformation, regeneration or reinvention, sociology offers others and itself the means for continuous development instead of spasmodic surges and slumps.

A Crucial Event in the Development of the Rules of Socioanalysis: The Printing Shop Intervention*

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ABSTRACT

According to the authors, clinical intervention cannot be properly conducted without an appropriate technical tool. Socioanalysis has been founded on the need for clinical intervention: the satisfactory integration of diagnosis, change and evaluation. The present article returns to an early case of intervention (1958), where the elements of this integration in socioanalysis were technically marked out for the first time. This occurred in two stages. A round of interviews, completed by a survey questionnaire, was conducted at a printing shop. The results were made available and discussed with the participants. A co-investigation was undertaken by the members of the shop and the intervention team, which involved use of a socioanalytic technique still in the process of development. During this work, the members of the shop gradually worked out their own diagnosis, which had the effect of modifying their perceptions of each other, of identifying the stakes of interdependence, and of imagining new ways of managing their shop. The recognition of this capacity of

*Part of this article was presented at the Symposium of the Research Committee of Clinical Sociology (RC46) of the International Sociological Association in Montreal (Van Bockstaele, Van Bockstaele, Schein, and Barrot 1993). The present text has been translated by Victor Lisacek.

self-diagnosis, taking into account the conditions of its emergence and efficacy, led the authors to focus their efforts on the construction of an integrated tool of investigation and intervention. The consequences of adopting this method are analyzed here. Some features of the subsequent development of the socioanalytic technique are also mentioned.

Socioanalysis is equally a theory, a technique, and an intervention designed for different institutions, organizations, companies, administrations, families, churches, etc. As such, it can be described in various ways, according to whether a theoretical, technical or practical standpoint is adopted.

From a *theoretical* point of view, socioanalysis serves to circumscribe an object, an entity as generator and medium of action (concept of praxiological entity†): individuals belong to institutions, but human action takes place within “social entities” which are a necessary condition for action. By definition, these entities manifest themselves and are observable only through action. They are the necessary medium through which the process of production emerges, develops and is perpetuated. This process forms the basis of their identity, and delimits their boundaries. Thus social entities bear within them the temporal dimension, the historicity of their actions, and in this way manifest an image of a larger reality to which they are specifically related. As such, they are the vector of symbolic shifts of representations (concept of *sociological transference*, Van Bockstaele and Van Bockstaele 1966; Van Bockstaele and Schein 1971). They link up actions and agents, power and rules, cognition and tools (Van Bockstaele 1994).

From a *technical* point of view, socioanalysis is based upon experience acquired of the reproducibility, in defined conditions, of the fundamental mechanisms which govern the actions of entities. The socioanalytic technique is characterized by the employment of rules—explicitly formulated and presented beforehand—which create an inter-group relation (entity under analysis \Leftrightarrow group of socioanalysts) and which bring about social simulation, leading to a symbolic shift onto the group of socioanalysts of the system of relations and production of the entity under analysis¹. The observation and interpretation of these pro-

†The adjective *praxiological* is formed from the noun *praxis*. Derived from Neo-Latin (13th century), the term *praxis* (from the Greek , action) was first used in English (16th century) and then in German (19th century). In French philosophical usage, it refers to an activity undertaken to produce a result, in contrast to knowledge, on the one hand, and existence, on the other (Robert, 1978).

cesses provide access to the genesis, structure and functioning of the particular entity in its own environment.

From a *practical* point of view, socioanalysis presupposes the existence of a collective analyst able to interpret an entity's processes of production. It is designed for institutions who wish to better manage their activities, or who request assistance in dealing with problems they are unable to solve alone. Such demanders must have an institutional basis suitable to entering into a contract with the socioanalysts, and flexible enough to allow their time and resources to be otherwise engaged over an appropriate period of time.

The development of socioanalysis has been strongly influenced by a chosen methodological priority, namely, the necessary availability in clinical sociology of specific tools of intervention². A crucial stage in this development was a case of intervention undertaken at a printing shop in 1958-59³. The problem of a workable link between available diagnostic tools⁴ and already tested tools of change⁵ had resolved itself here, for empirical data on this integration showed that diagnostic procedures and processes of change need not be separated.

The object of this article is to analyze this case of clinical intervention, a case which has taken on *ex post facto* paradigmatic value in the development of socioanalysis (Van Bockstaele and Van Bockstaele 1959; Van Bockstaele, Van Bockstaele, Barrot, and Magny 1963; Van Bockstaele, Van Bockstaele, and Schein 1994). In the first part, we return to the surveys conducted before the implementation of the processes of change. In the second part, we make an assessment of the intervention. In the third part, we analyze the practical and technical (and theoretical) consequences for socioanalysis that we have drawn from this case.

I. The Printing Shop

Due to the principles of "autonomy" underlying its production organization, economic functioning and human resource management (Friedmann 1946), this printing shop enjoyed a prestigious image both in its own company and in the social and industrial environment.

It was composed of 32 people, 18 women and 14 men, consisting of 1 foreman, 1 shop secretary, 2 technicians, and 28 machine operators—16 skilled workers and 12 unskilled workers. In practical terms, this autonomous shop "bought" its raw materials from shops upstream and "sold" the transformed product to shops downstream. This activity was

subject to two key constraints: 1) The fixing of inter-shop transfer fees; 2) Production standards. These constraints were enforced over a certain period, during which the shop assumed responsibility for its profit margin, transforming these gains into collective bonuses. At the end of this period, in accord with the management and the shop, the transfer fees and production standards were revised by the shop members collectively.

A loosened adherence to these principles, however, created an ever-widening gap between the prestigious image of the shop and the reality of its daily life. This diminished the shop's image of itself, though on the outside it remained unaffected.

A study was carried out by us with the aim of better understanding the genesis of the problem, which involved discussions with the personnel as well as the manager, the person who had designed and set up the shop.

1. Preliminary Investigation

With the agreement of the company manager and the technical departments associated with the shop, an initial round of personal interviews was decided upon after a three-day tour by a member of our team of the different work stations at the shop.

The purpose of these interviews was to achieve an understanding of the life of this autonomous group, through both the positions its members took on questions that arose during preliminary discussions with people—other than members of the shop—responsible for the design, setting up, and supervision of this group, and their reactions to words and through expressions of a more or less allusive nature that came up in the course of the three-day tour.

Four main issues emerged from these interviews: the history of the shop (changes in personnel, techniques, organization, managers); the gradual loss of autonomy; classifications; men-women relations.

a) Survey by Questionnaire

These interviews took place in an atmosphere of uneasy tension: feelings of impotence, of irresponsibility-associated guilt, of mistrust and deception, "one must . . . one has to . . . one could have . . .", all this depicted an evident desire for trust, action and independence.

Although the shop members felt somewhat relieved after the interviews, the problems remained unresolved. As such, we did not feel entitled to disclose the basic results of the data collected. To overcome this

situation, we decided to carry out a survey by questionnaire. This was based on the contents of the interviews, selected according to twelve criteria, each composed of 7 to 17 items, presented in random order and requiring clear-cut answers (*yes-no-abstention*).

The results were made public at a common meeting, and were discussed in the shop. They confirmed the outcome of the interviews; despite the difficulties they were facing, the shop members were unanimously committed to the shop and, as manifested by their willingness to continue participation, remained loyal to the original project.

In view of the "role model" status of the shop in the eyes of its members and the whole company, including the management, a disclosure of the results in all its factual aspects appeared as both an informational necessity and a means of putting the problems into perspective. Each year, 70 to 80 members of the company, from the manager down to factory hands, would gather together for an inter-factory day. The different establishments of the company would each send a delegation to this event. After discussions between the *Centre de socianalyse* (the contracting party) and the company president, the decision was taken to devote this inter-factory day to the problems of working in groups. Here a delegation from the shop was sent to share its own experiences as illustrated by the interviews and the survey. The outcome was as follows: request for training by company managerial staff⁶, revision of the shop contract, request for aid in shop transformation: the biggest problems, though amenable to discussion, had never found quick and easy solutions, where those in the shop could only ask, "What can be done?"

b) Issues in Negotiating for Socioanalysis

It can hardly be said that even before the formulation of this request for help, there had been no intervention; the forms of investigation used, the contents explored and the procedures of their transmission, the organization of internal exchanges at the shop and the discussions at the inter-factory event, all these had multiple repercussions.

This work lasted nine months. Two female members of the *Centre de socianalyse*, one of whom took part in the initial meeting, were called upon to conduct the interviews. From the completion of the round of interviews, a socioanalyst had participated in negotiations with the general management and the technical departments concerned, particularly in relation to the organization of the inter-factory day and the request for training by the managerial staff.

This question posed by the shop, and in reply, our offer of socioanalysis, raised the issue of its real autonomy, of its legitimacy to decide of its own accord to engage intervention with third party assistance. Such a decision was not only the responsibility of the shop but that of the company hierarchy as a whole.

Further negotiations were opened at several levels: the shop, the general management, and the shop together with the management responsible for its direction. It was agreed upon by all parties concerned that the sought-after socioanalysis would be undertaken, and more specifically: that a 24 day schedule of sessions would be drawn up; that for the purposes of socioanalysis, the shop would be split up into two groups, each comprised of 16 members; that two socioanalysts who had not taken part in the preliminary investigations of the shop would carry out the socioanalysis; and finally, that a third of the costs (fees, and travel and accommodation expenses) would be paid by the shop, a fixed amount to be deducted from its collective bonuses, while the remaining two-thirds would be met by the management. We insisted on the necessity here for the shop to take at least partial charge of its own affairs, so that the responsibility of choice would have a "price" in its own eyes and so that the right to decide would not have to be granted.

2. Socioanalysis at the Shop Between Social Training and Collective Analysis

Every member of the shop had the opportunity to say what he really thought and felt in the privacy of the interviews. But the question was to what extent they could go in revealing their own positions to each other in the shop environment. Although the members were at one in the way they felt about the situation, the expression of which helped to alleviate these feelings, mistrust still remained. To create an atmosphere of confidence was inseparable from sharing responsibility, and yet this sharing necessitated this confidence. The fact of feeling oneself changed does not bring about the conviction of change in others. The members were also affected by the entrenchment of their positions in routine, in the many existing categories (men-women, qualification differences, job specialization, etc.), in the modes of operation, in judgements made and attributed, etc.

The objective of socioanalysis then was to treat the problems created by this rigidity, where the feelings, beliefs and judgements expressed by individual members, and their relationships to each other, were spe-

cifically related to the functional and structural facts, such as the relations established with the objects, tasks, organization, shop management and the management in charge of its direction.

Socioanalysis at the shop began on the following basis:

Description of the Socioanalytic Set-up Before Intervention (Rule 5, November 1958)

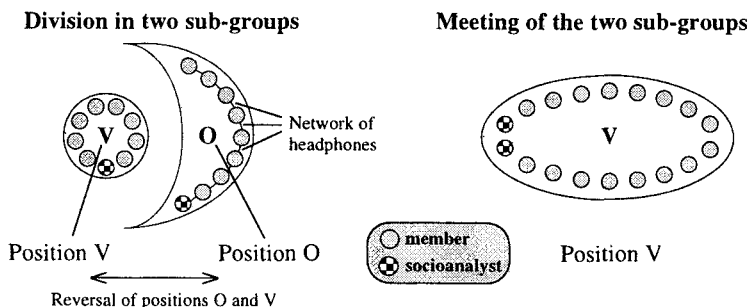
The schedule involves 12 two day meetings, spread over eight months (November 1958-June 1959). At the beginning of each 2 day meeting, the shop (32 people) is split up by lots into two groups. Each group is engaged on one of the two days according to the following timetable (5 periods of 100 mins, with 20 mins breaks):

1 8:00 am	9:40 am	2 10:00 am	11:40 am	3 1:30 pm	3:10 pm
4 3:30 pm	5:10 pm	5 5:30 pm	7:10 pm		

During the first four periods, each group (16 people) is split up by lots into two sub-groups (2 x 8 people). Lots are drawn independently in the morning (periods 1 and 2) and in the afternoon (periods 3 and 4). Each sub-group successively occupies, for the duration of 100 mins, the positions of *verbalization* (V) and *observation* (O) (see diagram below).

Two socioanalysts are engaged. One accompanies the sub-group in the position of verbalization, and intervenes by expressing interpretations aimed at the two sub-groups. The other accompanies the sub-group in the position of observation, and intervenes, through a network of headphones, by expressing interpretations aimed at the sub-group in the position of observation.

During the last period of the day (period 5), the group is reconstituted and takes up the position of verbalization (V). The two socioanalysts intervene by expressing interpretations aimed at the whole.



The verbalization task is formulated as follows: *verbalize and analyze what is perceived and felt in the situation "here and now" and about the socioanalysts.*

Two rules are laid down: 1) restriction of verbalization to only that which concerns the "here and now," 2) obligation to verbalize only in relation to the socioanalysts.

The twenty-four day schedule, taking into account organization constraints, corresponded to twelve two-day periods, that is, twelve days for each half of the shop. At the start of each of these two-day periods, the drawing of lots served to re-split the members of the shop, thus ensuring a continual change in sub-group composition. Every member of the shop participated in 110 hours of socioanalysis, spread over 6 months, with only a few incidental absentees.

At the time socioanalysis at the shop commenced, the choice had still not been made between a training orientation and an analytic aim. The two objectives co-existed and were the expression of a double destination: on the one hand, those individuals who wished to live through this experience with others, but on an individual basis; and on the other hand, those who wished to do so as part of a group. Here we were faced with the second case, and so the analytic aim prevailed over the training orientation.

Three periods can be distinguished in the progress of this socioanalysis, each of which involved two dimensions of interpretation: the one concerning the shop, and the other, socioanalysis and the socioanalysts themselves.

a) The First Ten Days: Analogic and Symbolic Transposition

The *here and now* constraint gave the participants the impression of being in a vacuum without any reference. They undertook to describe the limits in concrete and graphic terms: 'The walls, people, the socioanalyst, the door'. What could and could not be achieved within these limits? To keep quiet, perhaps. But silence creates discomfort, even more so in presence of the socioanalysts. The fear of judgement accompanied the refusal to be analyzed publicly.

The issue of confidence emerged very quickly, of confidence in oneself, in others, in the authorities. And the situation was perceived as lacking direction: "The socioanalysts do not exist, since they are not directive," or in another form, "Since he does not say what to do, it's an eye for an eye, and I will ignore him." Was the value of this work commensurate with the difficulty of performing it? How could this effort be related with the objectives of the shop? "Are we going to get our money's worth?"

We observed an analogous transposition of the shop problems onto the difficulties met in the socioanalytic situation, particularly in relation to the comparative hierarchical structures of the shop and the team of socioanalysts. The shop members themselves sensed this development, welcoming it as a potential means of bringing about change, especially

with respect to confidence. Their expectations regarding the foreman of the shop and the difficulties of assuming responsibility found in their relationship with the socioanalysts a *here and now* support for shifting their judgements away from the administration of the shop. Consequently we modified the rule, reducing the task to *describe the relations between the two teams* (shop/socioanalysts).

b) The Next Eight Days: Emergence of the Collective Analyst and its Role

At this stage in the work of analysis, we expected a codified representation of the functioning and structure of the shop, where the difficulties lived-through together in the socioanalytic situation would be an analogue of the problems faced by the shop. But we anticipated neither the existence of the mechanism of the shift and the force of the symbolic transposition associated with it, nor the group's investment in our team as a lever of analysis. Formally, the conducting of sessions required the presence of two socioanalysts which, due to a previous choice, excluded the possibility of using either of the two female socioanalysts involved in the interviews. The two male socioanalysts who were actually part of the analytic team did not have any prior contact with the shop, though one of them did help in the organization of the inter-factory day. However, restrictions on availability made this choice impracticable, and furthermore, one and sometimes two female socioanalysts were in positions of external observation (without any other function, without contact with anyone from the shop, and without the right to speak).

We tried to assess the influence of this mute, yet informed, presence, and discovered that it served as a moral and emotional reference by noting that the shift not only operated on the working socioanalysts, but on all members present of the *Centre de socianalyse*. The function of analysis here was not person-specific, but the collective function of a group of different, related individuals.

On the first day of the second period, one of the working socioanalysts was absent and was replaced by one of the two socioanalysts in positions of observation. This decision did not dispense with the role attributed to this socioanalyst, but rather strengthened his symbolic presence, for evocation in effigy is often easier to deal with than a face-to-face presence. Men-women relations were approached by making use of the presence of the two observing socioanalysts. The person/structure dichotomy gave way to an outlook on inter-category

relations. The use of this shift for indirectly treating the problems of the shop appeared then to be a manifestation of the need for protection. The substitution of a socioanalyst led us to understand that the way in which the participants used the analytic team did not correspond to an official definition of roles. The phenomena of absence/presence, of reference and of symbolic connivance, changed our perception of the analytic role. A new rule was then formulated. This maintained the presence of two socioanalysts in sessions, chosen from a larger team of socioanalysts, defined by a list of socioanalysts associated with a given socioanalysis.

c) The Last Six Days: Reintroduction of History, a Condition for Collective Analysis

As the analysis progressed, the participants increasingly used this shift on us as a means of dealing with their own conflicts and differences. Against a background of shop power relations and men-women relations, decision-making powers and pay issues were transposed onto our team through a game of representations made by the shop members of our functioning--who has the power among the socioanalysts? The men or the women? Who decides on important matters? Are the men and women paid equally? How do discussions proceed? Who judges performance? According to what criteria? And so, the participants would imagine the possible conflicts between us, between the men and the women, and among the men and among the women.

We were struck by the frequency of this shift. Was it an escape, a refusal to directly confront the problems faced by the shop, a sign of irresponsibility, or perhaps a reluctance to address problems which were considered the responsibility rather of the shop, or even the company, hierarchy?

Although all these possibilities might have been explored, it was our strong impression that, as a collective, the members of the shop were tacitly working against the risk of subjecting themselves to another institutional authority. Once they realized they were in a situation devoid of protective controls, they stood in solidarity with one another in order to prevent exposing themselves to the potential threat of sanctions.

This had been one of the motives for restricting speech in sessions to the *here and now*, along with the obligation to express how the participants felt about and perceived their relations with the socioanalysts. Experience in conducting socioanalysis in other companies had alerted us to the necessity of enclosing the field of analysis by divorcing it from the functioning of day-to-day life.

These findings supported our growing conviction of a spontaneous protective mechanism at work in the analytic situation, of which the main significance for us was the impossibility, for a constituted, hierarchical structure with a real past, of tackling its problems head-on.

This is why socioanalysis during the two first days of this third period took place on the basis of a new rule: the *here and now* had been abandoned and the task stipulated concerned *only the team of socioanalysts and the relations between it and the shop*.

Reintroducing the temporal dimension had the effect of opening up a margin of freedom favoring multiple references between different activities and structures, between people and official roles, between reality and ideas. This margin was lacking in the daily lives of the shop members because of historical conflicts, accumulated impasses and other circumstances described previously.

This situation encouraged us to go further and define the socioanalytic task as simply *anything that enters your head* about the functioning of the socioanalytic team. While this initiative marked our intention to have the nature and the practice of the task coincide, the effect had not been what we expected. A general refusal arose which the participants justified by the impossibility of accomplishing such a task of imagination.

And yet, in the silence of refusal, through an open window, barrel organ music invaded the meeting room. The participants decided at that instant to imagine the situation of the musician and his possible accompanist. Was he young or old? Was he blind? Did he have a dog? Where did he come from? What was his background? etc.

The contrast between the group's mute opposition to the socioanalytic task and the subsequent ludic play was quite a surprise for the socioanalysts. How was this to be understood? What had been perceived as an implicit will to be protected from a system of power of which they were a part, to avoid the potential risk of rejection or sanctions, could also be interpreted as a poorly identified resistance. As such, we decided not to backtrack in the direction given to the socioanalytic task.

Description of the Socioanalytic Set-up After Intervention (Rule 10, 30 May 1959)

Aim

The aim of the sessions is to help the group to treat its problems through socioanalysis by carrying out with the team of socioanalysts the work defined below.

Definition of the Task

The members of the group undertaking socioanalysis have the task of explaining the functioning of the team of socioanalysts as it is perceived and felt in the situation and by respecting the following rules:

1. Rule of Verbalization

The members of the group undertaking socioanalysis must express without omission or modification "anything that enters their head" in relation to what they feel "enters the heads" of the socioanalysts in their group functioning.

2. Rule of Abstinence

The group undertaking socioanalysis can speak only of the above, and only in sessions in the presence of the socioanalysts. Any other activity is forbidden.

At the same time, we opted to confine socioanalysis to only historically constituted groups.

II. Assessment of the Intervention

We took note of the transformations as they occurred during these 24 days. By exploring them in the analytic situation, the participants had modified their perceptions of each other, their relationships and their ability to handle their own multi-faceted interdependences. This led to changes in the way they worked together, the evaluation of which could be internal and continuous.

But the decision to undertake and finance socioanalysis at the shop had been taken jointly by the shop and the management. Though the results of analysis chiefly concerned the shop, they were also of interest to the management.

It was again necessary to objectify as much as possible the transformations that took place (Patton 1980; Kallen 1995)⁷. For ethical reasons, it was of course impossible to reveal the least amount of information on the contents of sessions. After the first round of interviews, a questionnaire had been used. The substance of the interviews had not been disclosed, only the percentage results of the answers obtained (yes,

no, abstention), which was both safer and easier to handle. We decided then to repeat the same choice after socioanalysis.

a) Comparison of the Before/After Surveys

The original questionnaire was used again, but with a change in the order of the questions. A comparison of the before/after results could serve as an indirect, general indicator of areas of stability and change:

1. Commitment to the shop and the perceived worth of shop meetings remained the same, and the foreman continued to be looked upon as a good foreman; interest in shop meetings grew:

Table 1

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you have a good foreman?	96	4	0	96	4	0
Are you happy to be part of the shop?	100	0	0	100	0	0
Do you consider shop meetings to be useful?	100	0	0	100	0	0

Three stable items gave indications of sharing a common past. Two of them maintained their score of unanimity, contentment with being part of the printing shop and the usefulness of shop meetings (shop results meetings), the third showed 96% in favour of the foreman, 4% against.

2. The standards of production were better accepted, the value of the organization department was more appreciated, and there was a wish for greater involvement in fixing standards of production:

Table 2

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you consider the standards acceptable?	26	39	35	61	4	35
Could they be raised?	34	61	5	13	48	39

Table 2 (con't.)

Do you consider the organization department to be useful?	52	13	35	78	9	13
Would you like to fix the standards as a group?	61	17	22	74	9	17
Do you prefer the organization department to fix the standards?	31	17	52	31	48	21

Agreement on the acceptability of standards had grown: a 35% difference in the *no* score occurred to the advantage of the *yes* score, which showed a 61% agreement on the acceptability of standards, as against 26% the first time. The question on the possibility of raising standards was designed to test their flexibility. The responses expressed less reservation: 48% replied *no*, though previously it was 61%. In contrast, the *abstention* score, initially very weak (5%), increased to 39%.

One of the functions of the organization department was to fix standards. This department was better accepted: the score relating to its usefulness rose from 52% to 72%, while the *no* score decreased slightly and the *abstention* score fell by 22%. The preference that the standards of production be fixed by the organization department remained unchanged at 31%. Opposition to the organization department increased from 17% to 48%. The desire to fix standards as a group rose from 61% to 74%, with only 9% in disagreement, and the usefulness of shop meetings (shop results meetings), the third showed 96% in favour of the foreman, 4% against.

3. The heat was taken out of men-women relations, judgements on the mixing and parity of men and women in the shop were softened, resulting in a greater tolerance:

Table 3

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you think there are more problems working in a mixed shop than in a shop of men?	61	17	22	40	43	17
Do you think there are more problems working in a mixed shop than in a shop of women?	48	22	30	13	61	26

Assessment of the problems of working in a mixed shop compared to a shop of men evolved: beforehand, 61% thought it was worse in a mixed shop in contrast to

Table 3 (con't.)

only 40% afterwards, while the idea of there being more problems was rejected by 43% of the shop members.

Regarding the second item, there was an even more distinct shift: 48% down to 13%, where 39% had changed their mind, affirming that there were not more problems involved in working in a shop of women than in a mixed shop.

4. Positions lost their unjust character and participation in decisions on such matters was strongly desired:

Table 4

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you consider it normal that the foreman makes the classifications?	83	9	8	44	30	26
Would you like them to be made by the foreman and the workers together?	74	4	22	91	0	9

Differences in judgements on the role of the foreman, before and after socio-analysis, was expressed by a fall in the *yes* score of 39%: judged normal at first by 83% of the shop members, agreement then dropped to 44%. At the same time, the *abstention* score rose by 18%, from 8% to 26%, while the *no* score increased from 9% to 30%.

5. Position allocation, machine adjustments remained a delicate problem:

Table 5

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you consider personnel/machine allocation fair?	61	22	17	35	30	35
Do you like making machine adjustments?	74	13	13	74	13	13
Are you involved in technical work?	83	4	13	48	22	30

Table 5 (con't.)

Do you think that making machine adjustments is a technician's job?	65	17.5	17.5	43	39	18
Do you think that breakdown diagnosis is the responsibility of only the technicians?	17.5	65	17.5	0	87	13

There was a change on the question of the fairness of position allocation: considered as fair at first by 61%, it dropped down to only 35%. At the same time, the *abstention* score rose by 18%, from 17% to 35%. However, position allocation was less affected by favoritism, and based less on the capacities attributed to operators. Technician work took place in the context of a recent past, which related to the dispossession of part of the technical responsibility in production and the possibility of making machine adjustments. The "Do you like making machine adjustments?" question had a high, stable score of 74%. The status of the technicians and the recognition of their specificity could have been an indicator of the extent to which the function they perform was understood.

There was also a change on the question of the participation of workers in technical work. While 83% declared during the first survey that they were involved, this dropped afterwards down to 48%. Light was shed on this apparently paradoxical result by two items which aimed to explore the limits of the respective functions: regarding adjustments, 65% replied *yes* before socioanalysis as against 43% afterwards. In contrast, 17.5% replied *no* beforehand, and then after, 39%, with the *abstention* score stable. On the question of breakdown diagnosis, nobody replied *yes* after socioanalysis, and 87% instead of 65% replied *no*. In other words, the specificity of the function of technicians had been recognised which, and at the same time, expressed an increased willingness to share.

6. Team spirit continued to be perceived as important:

Table 6

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you think it is better to keep machine quirks to yourself?	4	92	4	13	78	9
Do you share machine quirks with workmates?	96	0	4	91	0	9
Do you share machine quirks with team members?	96	0	4	87	0	13

Table 6 (con't.)

When you experience difficulties at work, do your workmates help you?	65	22	13	78	9	13
When your workmates experience difficulties at work, do you help them?	87	9	4	91	0	9

Cooperation at the shop was shown by a more than 90% agreement on the communication, in the team and to the other team, of machine quirks. However, there was an increase in the number of those who thought it better to keep them to themselves: the *yes* score rose from 4% to 13% and there was a correlative decrease in the *no* score, from 92% to 78%. Reciprocal aid that shop members brought to each other increased in its perceived value: 91% instead of 87% for aid given and 78% instead of 65% for aid received. On these items, there was a gap between what was judged and what was done.

7. An atmosphere of confidence continued to be perceived as important:

Table 7

	Before			After		
	Yes	No	Abs	Yes	No	Abs
Do you have the impression of working in an atmosphere of confidence?	57	26	17	70	22	8
Do you have the impression of working in an atmosphere of suspicion?	26	65	9	18	74	8
Do your workmates get upset if your work is not up to par?	17	74	9	0	65	35

The atmosphere was evaluated by three items. It was felt by 70% as an atmosphere of confidence and by 18% as an atmosphere of suspicion. The *abstention* score dropped from 17% down to 8% for confidence, and 9% to 8% for suspicion.

On the more pointed question of the relation between comradeship and production, some important trends were discernable: nobody replied *yes* after socioanalysis, while 17% did so beforehand. 74% replied *no* at first and then 65% afterwards, with an associated increase in the *abstention* score from 9% to 35%. Furthermore, the feeling of reciprocal tolerance in relation to performance in the shop had improved.

b) Clinical Interpretation of Change

This comparison was of course only an approximation and could hardly claim the status of scientific validity (Campbell 1974), for the specific circumstances in which each of these two surveys were conducted would have presumably affected the results. It was plausible to think that, on the first occasion, the gap between the reality and the image of the situation manifested itself in the answers given in the form of a gap between the situation lived-through and the situation described. On the second occasion, that is, after socioanalysis, the answers were given with a certain distance and a concern for proximity between the situation lived-through and the real situation, so that any *yes/no* answers the first time round could have turned into uncertainties, expressed as an increase in the *abstention* score.

Between these two hypotheses, a clinical interpretation bearing on socioanalytic work fell into place. Here we distinguish two levels of transformation:

- Interaction between areas of production: The problems of the shop were liberated from their historical context. The level of functioning of the shop had become perceptible in its different areas, mainly in the assignment of stations, positions and standards. These areas appeared as a necessary basis for the organization and structure of the shop, giving a rhythm to its functioning: the first in daily life (allocation of operators to machines), the second institutionally (positions and attribution of technical competence), the third, in the economic constraints of production (standards, productivity, collective bonuses). The value of external services was well recognized, as were the technicians of the shop. An awareness emerged of the interaction between these constraints, and the will to participate in setting and managing them grew and manifested itself explicitly.
- Strong symbolic interaction between areas: shop meetings, shop commitment, atmosphere, and the shop image had been dissociated from the sphere of production. The distance acquired to judge problems of the first level set in motion the symbolic level. Shop meetings, and the collective bonuses which provided the agenda, symbolized the autonomy and

specificity of the shop. They were inseparable from the group's commitment. The internal image of the shop prevailed now over its external image. Finally, atmosphere and team spirit improved, along with confidence and the status given to women.

The connection between these levels, productive and symbolic, favored the transformation of action in the shop, giving it the opportunity to take practical responsibility for its problems and the capacity to deal with its autonomy.

III. Subsequent Changes of the Rules of Socioanalysis

Exposition of this case has revealed a certain number of factors at work in clinical intervention during this period⁸. The dynamics of transformation at the shop not only gave rise to technical problems which demanded resolution if analysis was to be brought to a successful conclusion, but also opened up a larger, better defined problem. To understand the mechanisms of transformation, it was necessary to identify the elements and processes at work in the analytic situation, and to look into the nature of the intervention which led to the mobilization of all the agents involved in the development, management and change at the shop.

The unification of the field of analysis represented a major turning point in socioanalysis, thanks to which it crossed its first threshold of no return. We will elaborate the different aspects which have characterized this turning point by distinguishing the practical/political aspects and then the technical aspects which have contributed to defining the scope of socioanalytic intervention.

1. The Political and Practical Aspects

Analysis of the shop case has shown that certain conditions must be obtained for the proper application of the tools of investigation and analysis. In our eyes, any instance of intervention gives rise to a global process of organized action, a process which is moreover political in nature.

In the reference case here of the shop, the choice of intervention stemmed from a demand expressed by a company executive in relation to a shop, based on a model which he had initially designed, and set up

with the explicit agreement of the general management and with the assistance of the technical departments of the company.

We could not be blind to the fact that the decision-making and negotiation powers of the shop were limited despite its autonomy. The fact that the rules which structured its activities were not systematically respected bore witness to a lack of autonomy and a position of weakness. The problems faced by the shop could not be imputed to it alone, but to the company hierarchy as a whole.

Declared or assumed limits of autonomy are never absolute, simple, or stable, and in any case of intervention, their careful exploration is a necessity. In fact, this necessity is a key element of intervention. The autonomy of the intervener cannot be any broader than that of the demander. The stakes for one as for the other is to prevent adopting the other's representation of itself. For the intervener, the goal is to assess the admissibility of the demand, but for the demander, it is to guarantee the dependability of the intervener. Socioanalytic intervention requires the autonomy and legitimacy of the demand as much as of the offer (Van Bockstaele, Van Bockstaele, and Godard-Plasman 1994b).

The strategy of both the intervener and the demander is to establish a common ground. The practical aspect of intervention requires the articulation of levels, contents, procedures and time periods. This articulation must be specific in each case and is therefore non-reproducible⁹. This is why the process of analysis progressed under many forms, and was capable in our eyes of maintaining harmony in the management of change. Due to the uniqueness of the field of socioanalysis, the intervener can explore it following an approach appropriate to the nature of each demand.

2. The Technical Aspects

The last day of socioanalysis was concluded with the task formulated as follows: *Describe the functioning of the socioanalytic team in the situation as perceived and felt by the group members.*

This choice was born directly from the varied use that the members made of our collective presence. During the six months following socioanalysis at the shop, we progressively modified the setup which had up to then defined the socioanalytic situation. We will now examine the different areas of modification involved:

- *From training for change to change through socioanalysis.*

The initial objective had been to produce a lived-through training experience of intra and intergroup relations. The new objective became the treatment of problems of group functioning by means of socioanalysis.

- *From voluntary individuals/groups to institutional groups.*

The decision to abandon the socioanalysis of groups composed of voluntary individuals was taken during this time at the shop. It no longer seemed possible that a group of individuals without an historical, pre-existing organizational structure, could produce in the course of analysis a significant shift on the group of socioanalysts.

- *From behavior to functioning.*

The abandonment of groups of voluntary individuals led to focusing analysis on group functioning rather than on individual behavior. This point has proven to be one of the biggest obstacles within the group of socioanalysts. The decentering of individual psychological observation for the purpose of better focusing on the system of intra/intergroup relations has demanded an effort of self-analysis internal to the team of socioanalysts, a control over its own relationships, a vigilant tolerance in the face of attributed images, and distance enough to properly interpret the contents of analysis.

- *From direct task to indirect task.*

At the beginning, the socioanalytic task was one of free discussion. The *here and now* rule served to limit the field of analysis in order to prevent any direct interference in sessions from conflicts and problems rooted in the institutional group's past. Otherwise, uttered words and expressed judgments would become unequally shared weapons. The protection of individuals and institutions was achieved, according to our experience, by the imposition of the task which obliged a shift of conflicts. When carried out, this task also gave access to information that open talk concealed.

- *From normative rules of accomplishing the task to referential rules.*

Early versions of the rules had a strong normative aspect of cooperation, and then of protection. The formulation in terms of non-omis-

sion and abstinence appeared in the course of socioanalysis at the shop, though it did not arise immediately from an integrated definition of the task. The *rule of verbalization* required from the group under socioanalysis *to speak without omission* or modification about “anything that enters their head” in relation to what they felt about “anything that enters the heads” of the socioanalysts in their group functioning. The *rule of abstinence* required from the group to speak only of what was stipulated, and to do so only in sessions and in the presence of the socioanalysts.

The distinct emergence of these two rules from the task itself would take a long time. They would acquire autonomy only when they had constituted a common reference for, on the one hand, socioanalysts as a basis for interpretations, and on the other hand, groups under socioanalysis for exploring the task without its limits being normatively defined. Non-omission and abstinence are still the rules used for accomplishing the socioanalytic task.

- *From explanation to interpretation.*

At the shop, active instruction had in fact been replaced by *here and now* analysis in touch with the reality of the shop. The necessity of analysis, that is, the preeminence of interpretation over explanation, led to a reorganization of the analytic situation and all that it entailed. In particular, the work of analysis undertaken by the socioanalysts subjected them to risks. Before this work was carried out completely, competence, with reference to a body of knowledge constituted externally, served to protect the instructor. In contrast, the function of interpretation exposes the analyst to judgement, and in the case of socioanalysis, doubly so: from the group under analysis as well as from the other socioanalysts.

- *From two monitors to a collective analyst.*

In retrospect, it is difficult to understand how we could not have perceived the effects of the mute presence of the two female socioanalysts in positions of observation in sessions, or how we could not have understood that the formal delegation, in the context of the technical setup, made up of the two male socioanalysts did not correspond to the reality of the potential shift on the socioanalysts. It needed the absence of one of the two working socioanalysts to restructure our perception of the

analytic relation between the shop and the group of socioanalysts present. The collective analyst was born, not through a technical decision, but through the real and symbolic existence which the group under socioanalysis had conferred on it.

- *From separation into sub-groups for pedagogical purposes to an intergroup analytic relation.*

Splitting up the shop members into two sub-groups made it possible to treat two different problems. On the one hand, it represented a pedagogical resource in the sense that it offered, for the observing group, insight into the problems of others—though this capacity vanished when the group changed roles and came to the table for the purpose of verbalization. On the other hand, this separation mobilized a source of energy through the number and quality of social interactions which it produced. The mixing acted as an additional means which amplified the dynamics of internal relations and modified the relations with the socioanalysts.

Recognition of the unity of the collective analyst brought about very quickly an awareness of the unity of the group under socioanalysis. The relation between the group and the team of socioanalysts became a lever of analysis. As a result, the splitting-up and mixing of groups was abolished, while, for a long time, the collective analyst specializing in a given socioanalysis was systematically composed of four analysts made up of both men and women.

- *From preliminary diagnosis to concomitant diagnosis.*

Before the case, we had been involved in carrying out preliminary diagnoses in a whole variety of forms, which then gave rise to discussions and the decision or otherwise to engage the services of socioanalysis. Some executive managers considered that diagnosis of the problems faced by their group was their own responsibility. Others agreed to ask for help in the diagnosis, but then took it upon themselves to define the areas requiring analysis. In this case, the professional autonomy and technical legitimacy of the intervener were put into question. And yet, without such questioning, the exercise of the analytic role would be impossible.

The shop had been the object of investigation in circumstances where the idea of socioanalysis was not even addressed. When the decision to undertake socioanalysis was taken, an awareness of the problems was widely shared.

While we were preoccupied about knowing if the members of the shop could reproduce together what they had expressed separately, we discovered a process of self-diagnosis coming to life before us. Far from repeating the messages given in the interviews, the members together transformed and refined them, producing through our intermediary their self-diagnosis, evolving and rich with potential solutions. Consequently, after socioanalysis at the shop, we abandoned preliminary diagnoses.

- *From multiple tools to a unique tool.*

The preliminary diagnosis mobilized numerous tools of investigation, though of two main categories: individual interviews with or without a set theme, and collective surveys with or without feed-back, whether to the interviewees or to the person who ordered the investigation.

In the case of the shop, this person felt responsible for the part he played in the genesis of the problems of the shop. The diagnosis involved him and so did the analysis. Others in charge of the shop also felt themselves involved. All of them participated in socioanalysis seminars just before socioanalysis was undertaken at the shop. The work of analysis went therefore beyond the shop. It made it possible to create a sort of connivance between the members of the shop and their managers, while the early round of interviews had isolated each in his confidence. The survey with clear-cut questions had only produced cooled down, limited responses. After socioanalysis at the shop, we dispensed with interviews or surveys of any form, whether before or after socioanalysis.

The issue of diagnosis is a confrontation of competences, and in the case of an intervener proposing socioanalysis, also a question of its capacity to properly implement the means of treatment and carry out analysis to a successful end. The recognition of this technical competence can only be proportional to the recognition of the political competence of the demander. This reciprocity of positions is one of the conditions of the possibility of engaging socioanalysis. The test of this possibility is not to be found with surveys or interviews of whatever variety.

- *From delayed evaluation to continuous evaluation.*

Any evaluation comes up against the triple difficulty of fixing the reference, defining the criteria and choosing the time period. These three points can only with difficulty be determined independently from the comprehension of the dynamics of action due to which change is produced.

But what change? In the case of the shop, did the change aim at the resolution of the current problems or at an improvement in the capacity to face up to them and conceive, as analysis advanced, of the means of their resolution? The choice of socioanalysis aimed more and more at the enhancement of the shop's own capacities. But how can such change be grasped and objectified?

The initial investigation, that is, the interviews and the survey, had not been designed to evaluate the effects of socioanalysis. However, we used the same tool for the preliminary investigation and the delayed evaluation. The interpretation of the results of this comparison, despite certain notable gaps, was difficult to find without the help of experience acquired in socioanalysis.

Our perception of the first survey changed in light of the second one. The two hypotheses formulated to interpret these two sets of results could not have arisen without a transformation in our global understanding of the problems. Socioanalysis had produced a flow of articulated micro-changes, and as analysis progressed, through an invisible transposition, this flow shifted from the analysis to daily life.

Evaluation in socioanalysis is part and parcel of the work of analysis. Judgement of its utility is a constant issue and a function of many factors (costs, returns, time, etc.). The relativity of viewpoints and the possibility of challenging some and accepting others makes it difficult to settle on a unique criterion of evaluation. Continuous confrontation provides a many-sided means of evaluation which is perhaps the only one conceivable and possible in regards to action.

Other modifications will now be introduced which, due to the use of a unique tool, do not affect the option of integrating investigation and intervention. This tool, designated by the expression "socioanalytic rule", gradually became a reference in all our interventions (*Centre de socioanalyse* 1990).

Conclusion

Changes of the socioanalytic rule have always been the result of impasses met in the course of socioanalysis. Furthermore, the technical solution would stand out before we were able to clearly formulate the reasons for the impasse.

The technical reorientation arising from socioanalysis at the shop was the consequence of the analysis itself. In its turn, it opened up new

perspectives. On the basis of the use made by the members of the shop of our group structure, the introduction of the reversal in the task was only justifiable if it made it possible to reach a normally hidden mechanism. And yet, we observed that this reversal was not a simple shift. A subsequent formulation of the task, *imagine the life of the group of socioanalysts*, clashed with resistances related to a proscription constitutive of social relations, a collective and codified proscription which bears upon the freedom to express what one believes is thought, represented, believed or aroused by oneself in another. The reciprocity of observation, a general property of social relations, is rejected, ignored, censured, or denied due to the fact that social relations are asymmetrical and hierarchical. The structure of internal judgements is connected to the structure of social functioning. Socioanalysis is an operative tool of analysis only because it is founded on this property which is above all a genuine social property.

The question of the limits of a group has already been raised in relation to the official and true composition of the team of socioanalysts. But it poses itself reciprocally for the group under socioanalysis. How do the phenomena of presence/absence or active symbolic presence occur? How are they grasped? Ten years afterwards, we undertook the socioanalysis of an institution represented in sessions only by its director. The team of socioanalysts was composed of four persons, two men and two women. As the sessions progressed, and through the mediation of the task, the problems of the institution took shape, though after several months it became evident that the person concerned was obliged to introduce to this analysis other members of the institution.

This socioanalysis inaugurated the second stage in the development of the analytic tool. Subsequent transformations have involved in particular the conception of a group. Thus, contrary to the preliminary choice which consisted in fixing at once the limits of the demander group for the duration of socioanalysis, the delimitation produced by the participants in analysis could become itself the object of analysis. The imagination task turned into the *imagination/co-optation* task. As with imagination, co-optation became an imposed activity.¹⁰

The notion of a group was no longer appropriate, for it did not take into account changes in the composition of the participants. The internal life of the institution was apprehended through the dynamics of representation, in the sense of individuals representing their institution. Not only did presence/absence relations take on all their significance, but also active and symbolic relations and concealed power and referential relations.

The stabilization of the current rule has coincided with the conviction of the existence of a specific level of analysis which ensures the uniqueness of the field explored. But the theory, still rather limited in comparison to our experience, remains inseparable from the constant control of practical adjustments and the validity of technical choices.

NOTES

1. The socioanalytic technique has taken twenty years to develop, its transformations arising from our clinical practice. Conducting socioanalysis requires the use of a technical setup referred to as the "rule of socioanalysis". From January 1957 to the present, we constructed and tested 32 successive forms of the rule (Van Bockstaele, Van Bockstaele, and Godard-Plasman 1994a). Thirty two successive rules of socioanalysis have been formulated between 1957 and 1972. Since 1976, the rule has been the following:

Rule of Socioanalysis (rule 32, 1976)

Socioanalytic task:

- *imagine* the life of the group of socioanalysts
- *co-opt* the relevant persons

Those present must:

- *express without omission* anything that concerns the imagination/co-optation task
- *abstain* from expressing anything that does not concern the imagination/co-optation task

2. Our conception of clinical sociology has been formed through an experimental approach (Van Bockstaele et al. 1954; Van Bockstaele, Van Bockstaele, Michelat, and Carron 1996). Two noteworthy consequences of this approach are, firstly, a strong interest in the technical conditions and methods for the simulated reproduction of societal phenomena, and secondly, a concern to maintain in clinical work a certain rigor in the choice of variables and in the formulation of hypotheses.

3. The clinic/intervention relationship constitutes a major pivot in any definition of clinical sociology. Thus H. Rebach, introducing his chapter in the *Handbook of Clinical Sociology*, claims: "The most basic attribute that sets the subdiscipline of Clinical Sociology apart is that of intervention, the clinical sociologist is an active change agent" (1991, p. 49). In the same work, J-M. Fritz introduces the historical chapter with the following definition: "Clinical Sociology is defined here as the creation of new systems as well as the intervention in existing systems for the purposes of assessment and/or change..." (*Ibid.*, p. 18). Before the publication in 1963 of an article entitled "Quelques conditions d'une intervention de type analytique en sociologie" (Some Conditions of Analytic Intervention in Sociology) in *L'Année Sociologique*, we suggested that it be included under a sub-section entitled "Travaux de sociologie clinique" (Works in Clinical Sociology).

4. We refer here to surveys by interview or by questionnaire, to observations on group discussions, etc. Our first implementation of such diagnostic tools was in 1956 in a small industrial company. We used with the workers a questionnaire based on "SRA Employee Inventory" (Baehr 1954), and interviewed the management, guided by a framework derived from Katz, Maccoby, and Morse (1951), and observed the interactions within functional sub-groups (Bales 1950).

5. Concerning tools of change, our field approach was shaped by the following: experimentation in group dynamics (Coch and French 1948), research-action programmes (Lewin 1947), sociometric reconstruction techniques (Moreno 1934), surveys with feedback (Mann and Baumgartel 1952; Mann and Dent 1954), T-Group practice (Bradford 1954; Faucheux 1959).

6. From the outset we distinguished between two main types of demand: the one arising from institutions requiring help in their daily functioning or looking to overcome some already identified problems; the other of an individual nature for which we have created institutional support. During the shop case, the decision to abandon the socioanalysis of groups composed of voluntary individuals had still not been taken. It is therefore in this context that we could satisfy the request for training.

7. At the end of socioanalysis at the shop, the question arose as to the relevance to the group of agents of concern about the feedback of the work in the absence of objective quantified data. This was a new situation at the time. Since then, the dominant paradigm in social research, based on quantitative measurement, experimental design and multivariate, parametric, and statistical analysis has been widely challenged by the qualitative argument, even on the part of "two leading scholars of measurement and experimental design, Campbell and Lee Cronbach" (House 1977). The question of objectivity and validity turned into a discussion on technical constraints and evaluation approaches where the relationship between the researcher and the demander is crucial. Thus Patton emphasises both that "Decision makers and information users share responsibility for the credibility of an evaluation and the identification of evaluation issues to be studied" and that "To the extent that participants in the study are unable to relate to the description and analyzes in a qualitative evaluation report, it is appropriate to question the credibility of the report" (Patton 1980, pp. 336-337). More recently, in referring to the "War on Poverty" program, Kallen stresses the fact that "Many of the evaluation studies were under some pressure to be 'success oriented' in order to ensure future funding for programs which people agreed were socially good, even if their effectiveness could not always be clearly demonstrated" (Kallen 1995).

8. Numerous "models of social research and development" have been elaborated since the beginning of the 80s in an attempt to develop cooperation between researchers and policy makers "because evaluation research most often is retrospective, it will always stay a drawback that much energy has been spent on implementary and other activities involved in the execution of policy measures and intervention programs before they are evaluated. [...] As a consequence, the already existing gap between scientists and practitioners may grow still deeper and wider» (Schultz 1994, p. 110).

9. "Any demand for intervention involves a specific problem. This demand may or may not lead to the engagement of socioanalysis. In the case where it does not, treatment of the demand requires specific technical adjustments. This adjustment work is carried out by degrees, in the course of which the technical components of the socioanalytic situation and the resources of the particular field of exploration are brought together and compared" (Centre de socialanalyse 1990).

10. The emergence of the *imagination/co-optation task* not only marks a crucial stage in the technical development of socioanalysis, but also represents a theoretical and practical resource of exploration of the relations between cognition and action (Van Bockstaele *et al.* 1994a). Intervention in socioanalysis has shown us that change in these relations can be brought about through the analysis and interpretation of the process activated by the dynamics of imagination and co-optation. We have designated this process of social change by the neologism : *diapoèse* (Van Bockstaele and Van Bockstaele 1971). The Greek etymology of this term combines two ideas : 1) the idea of separation, of division, of going beyond or through, including by means of violence, as expressed by the preposition *dia*; 2) the idea of making, of producing, of giving birth to, of creating, as expressed by the verbe *poiéo*. The creative nature of the imagination/co-optation task in socioanalysis is emphasized by its designation as *diapoetic task*.

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Socioemotional Understanding and Recreation

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ABSTRACT

A socioemotional framework for conducting clinical sociology is introduced. Case studies are presented as examples of two essential clinical sociological processes: *socioemotional understanding and recreation*. Special emphasis is placed upon the role that specific and general sociocultural contexts have upon the emotional profiles of individuals and society as a whole. Discussed is how clinical sociologists are especially skilled at facilitating individuals developing *responsible emotionality* and *emotional responsibility* as they singly and jointly explore, reflect upon, understand, and choose to recreate particular self and other destructive emotional patterns and processes as well as the sociocultural contexts that contribute to those patterns and processes.

Introduction

Clinical sociologists play an important role in assisting individuals to explore and reflect upon their patterns and processes of thinking, feeling, and behaving. They also lead individuals on the path of exploring, discovering, and reflecting upon the sociocultural contexts that have played and play an important role in the emergence of their patterns and processes of thinking, feeling, and behaving. Through *socioemotional understanding* individuals can be encouraged to examine how they not

only continually create and enact their individual beings but are influenced by and influence an interdependent web of existence. Until individuals honestly examine their personal socioemotional patterns and processes, they will not have the opportunity to choose to alter those patterns or processes, request the support of others in working with particularly ingrained patterns and processes as well as difficult circumstances, and intersect in a respectful yet creatively assertive fashion with those with different patterns and processes.

As described in an article on "Emotional Generalization: An Integrative Proposition" (Cuthbertson Johnson and Johnson 1995), socioemotional understanding is an important clinical sociological tool. Basic to socioemotional understanding is the identification of individuals' typical emotional profiles, which include the type, range, valence, duration, intensity, and reactivity of major emotions; the situations, thoughts, and behaviors associated with predominant emotions; patterns of interpreting their own as well as others' emotional experiences; and patterns through which they manage or do not manage their emotional experiences, including emotional expressiveness or nonexpressiveness. Vitrally important is leading individuals towards honestly reflecting upon the general social values, themes, beliefs, institutions, rituals, resources, and objects involved in their emotional patterns and processes as well as specific sociocultural groups, settings, themes, values, and rituals; social identities and roles; and socialization factors. Clinical sociologists are especially skilled at carrying out in-depth interviewing and understanding. Trained in qualitative research, they are highly proficient at taking the role of the other and empathetically discerning individuals' interrelated patterns and processes of thinking, feeling, and behaving. Clinical sociologists are also very adept at identifying individuals' personally valued identities and roles as well as commitments. Through developing trust with individuals and encouraging *emotional honesty*, clinical sociologists guide individuals towards discovering taken-for-granted socioemotional patterns and processes.

After the process of socioemotional understanding has been completed, a second essential clinical sociological step follows—*socioemotional recreation*. Clinical sociologists assist individuals in reflecting upon the personal and social consequences of their emotional patterns and processes and in choosing to enact alternative patterns and processes. At the socioemotional recreation step, clinical sociologists can use a wide variety of therapeutic strategies to work with individuals in transforming patterns, processes, or contexts that are particularly per-

sonally or socially destructive. Sociological knowledge and understanding of interpersonal, group, and collective contexts enables clinical sociologists to facilitate individuals working towards recreating, individually and jointly, positively influential sociocultural contexts. By giving individuals a deep understanding of general and specific sociocultural settings and how those settings embody social beliefs, values, themes, objects, rituals and institutions that deeply influence emotional experience, expression, and management, clinical sociologists give individuals the opportunity to choose to alter those contexts.

The following are two cases worked with in clinical sociology practice. These cases illustrate socioemotional understanding and recreation.

Socioemotional Understanding: Ben

Ben was a 50-year old male who had lived for nine years with Leslie, a 43-year old woman who had been diagnosed as experiencing bipolar disorder. He was also feeling inundated by his work role in a management position. Ben's reasons for coming to sociotherapy were heavy drinking, severe depression, and suicidal thoughts. Ben's *emotional repertoire* consisted primarily of anxiety, anger, self-disgust, guilt, and a lack of life satisfaction and peace of mind. Consequently, he also experienced two encompassing, generalized emotional states—stress and depression. Ben's emotional repertoire was identified through in-depth clinical sociological sessions in which the type, including intensity, extent, and reactivity of each emotion, the range of emotions, the interplay of emotions, the absence of emotions, and the presence of encompassing emotions like depression or stress were outlined and reflected upon. Also examined were the major generalizations or meta-generalizations Ben's emotions represented, for example, his anxiety was an indication that the relationship between Ben and his environment was being defined by him as possible threat, vulnerability, and lack of control. Anger was Ben's continual definition of his situation as being unjust and unfair; and his self-disgust and guilt were self-evaluative as to his social status and performance. Also highly important was the absence of emotions, such as his lack of satisfaction and peace of mind. These patterns were particularly important to uncover because Ben had reached a current state of being overwhelmed by the encompassing emotional states of stress and depression. These metageneralizations were based on his continuing negative emotions of anxiety, anger, guilt, and self-disgust and the absence of positive emotions. Therefore, he

had reached two ongoing, overwhelming conclusions about his place in life—overwhelming (stress) and, finally, hopeless (depression).

Socioemotional understanding included assisting Ben in identifying the style, form, process, and focus of personal linguistic statements that related to the creation of his emotional repertoire. On examining Ben's ritual self-talk, there were a number of patterns discovered that contributed to his creating and maintaining negative emotions as well as his not creating or neutralizing positive emotions. First of all, Ben made continuing comments that he was a "screw up" along with repeated assertions that he would probably screw up in the future. Linked to those assertions were expressions of guilt, self-anger, and self-disgust that he had screwed up and anxiety that he would probably continue to screw up. In addition, Ben repeatedly brought up the successful performance of others, ending his discussions with statements like "I could never perform like that." Moreover, when complimented for his positive qualities or actions, he would reply with statements like "Of course, it's not as good as Joe would do." The discounting statements used by Ben effectively precluded his creating feelings of self-confidence, pride, and satisfaction in the present and hopeful feelings for a successful performance in the future. Through numerous session exercises, Ben was shown how his self-talk and the continued expression of his statements to himself and others strongly influenced his ongoing self/ environment relationship. Also brought to his attention was the role his statements made in defining himself in regard to the past, the present, and the future. All were linked to negative conclusions. The past had been a screw-up; the present was filled with negativity and strain; and the future was a possible threat.

Through clinical sociological consultation Ben was also shown how he continually created particular identities through defining himself as being either "perfect" or a "screw-up." Adding to those definitions of self and self-performance was his "either/or" format as well as his belief that screwing up was easy to do as well as associated with severe consequences. Ben was therefore shown how language played a major role in the patterns and processes through which emotional meaning in his life was established. He was shown that the style and form of his statements, such as self-discounts, established anxiety and self-disgust, for example, as well as precluded confidence. Through symbolic exercises, he was shown the effect of his continuing nullifying statements like "It really wasn't that great." These exercises were carried out in an enjoyable fashion, with much humor interjected. Ben was also requested to

leave "either/or's" out of his language patterns because this format had been carried to an extreme and, accordingly, had precluded many aspects of the multifaceted Ben. He had become either perfect or worthless. Overall, Ben discovered in the clinical sociological sessions how his self-talk in form and process had created a particular self as well as self-environment relationship.

Especially vital in socioemotional understanding was working with Ben to explore and reflect upon the particular social themes, beliefs, values, institutions and objects he had taken for granted and integrated into himself or at times rebelled against or shut out. As John E. Owen (1963, p. 313) states, "Every culture emphasizes, and, in fact, demands, certain types of behavior to which individual conformity is required." The clinical sociologist has a particular expertise in discerning and understanding those sociocultural beliefs, values, and norms whether they are of a particular group, community, culture, or society as a whole. Ben was therefore assisted in reflecting upon the social bank from which his socioemotional meanings and adaptations had emerged. He was led on the path of exploring his focus upon success, competition, and personal excellence. He came to openly acknowledge his fear of being seen as a failure or as inadequate and understand society's emphasis on status, achieving, competing, and evaluation. A long discussion was held regarding work settings in which performance was evaluated, and rewards or punishments given in the form of financial payments or demotions, promotions, and firing. Ben also was assisted in discovering how he concentrated strongly on his performance at work rather than enjoying the process of working. These sessions enabled him to discover what activities he enjoyed, found challenging, or extremely disliked and what opinions he had on the set-up of work environments.

Clinical sociologists also work with individuals in exploring the particular settings and experiences from which ritual patterns of self-talk and behavior have emerged. Ben, the youngest of three children, was brought up by a hard-working, successful insurance executive who had taken little time for relaxation and play. Moreover, his father had been harshly critical of Ben's performance in school or at work, expressing his criticism in bursts of violent temper. Ben's mother had been loving and giving, believing anything Ben did was perfect. Several traumatic life events had also contributed to Ben's thematic emphases and overall anxious state regarding performance and responsibility. His brother had been killed in World War II, and his sister had died of leukemia when he was 19. Ben therefore defined himself as his parents'

"last chance," the only possibility for a "good, successful son." Consequently, he enacted a special commitment to not "flubbing up." Ben therefore reflected upon the socioemotional environment he had experienced in life as well as the definitions of the situation he had made and conclusions he had come to. He reflected upon how understandable it was that he had come to concentrate on work, not hobbies or relaxation, or to believe that if he was not perfect he would be severely criticized. These explorations and reflections were carried out in relaxing, trustful interchanges in order that Ben could examine his life in a comfortable, nonevaluative fashion.

With the assistance of the clinical sociologist Ben also came to realize that his behavioral strategies were intricately linked to his ritualized definitions of the situation. His work strategies demonstrated a commitment to perfectionist performance as well as harsh, self-evaluative postures. For example, he posted a sheet recording daily screw-ups on his bulletin board at work. He also took little time for rest and relaxation. As a result of these and similar practices, he eventually came to define work as a burden and chore, not something providing fulfillment and satisfaction. Even promotional opportunities became possible threats, because to Ben they meant increased responsibility and the probability of further messing up or failing. Clinical sociological interventions therefore continually stressed the intersection of thoughts, feelings, behavior, and the social environment.

Ben also explored how current home circumstances contributed to his anxiety and anger. He was continually apprehensive over the possibility that his partner, Leslie, would have a manic episode. To reduce his anxiety over the possibility of episodes, he engaged in highly controlling behavior, including sleeping by the door of their apartment at night to prevent Leslie's leaving if she became manic. The more he engaged in controlling behavior, however, the less opportunity Leslie had to control her behavior. Furthermore, they both became angry—Ben over having to constantly be on guard for an episode and Leslie over Ben's controlling behavior. Over time, Ben became highly reluctant to upset Leslie and possibly evoke an episode. Accordingly, he refrained from sharing with her a number of upsetting experiences. For example, he did not tell her he had been fired from a job for three weeks. In limiting his sharing of negative feelings, Ben was effectively limiting the possibility that Leslie would provide him with empathetic support. Ironically, he often described her as not empathetic and supportive. Ben's interpersonal, at-home environment therefore had a significant effect

on his emotional profile. He came to understand how Leslie did play a part in the creation and maintenance of his emotional profile while at the same time his interpretation of and response to Leslie's presence and behaviors also played a critical role. A special example was Ben's realization that from his emotional standpoint of ongoing anxiety in regard to screwing-up, combined with self-expectations that he "should be" responsible, he experienced considerable anguish when Leslie had to be hospitalized. He viewed her hospitalizations as a personal failure and managed his guilt and self-disgust by heavy drinking. He therefore gained deep insight into his emotion management ritual called self-upon-self emotion work by Arlie Hochschild (1979). Also discussed was his use of a substance, alcohol, to carry out his emotion management ritual and the personal and social consequences of using that substance in the manner he did.

Ben and the clinical sociologist also came to a deep understanding of his emotional career. As conditions did not change and negative emotions prevailed, Ben had come to a low point in his life. Taking into account his circumstances, constant anxiety, and lack of peace of mind, satisfaction, and other positive emotions, he had become angry at himself, Leslie, his father, and hospital personnel who were not "curing" Leslie. As a result, he had begun to emotionally manage by drinking even more heavily. Also, he had come to experience depression as he concluded that life was full of negative meanings, and unbearable as well as unresolvable. He had come to see himself as deficient, inadequate, and a victim of his father, partner, and circumstances. Ben's emotional career just about ended when he decided to commit suicide and stated "I really don't want to be," "I am not what I want to be," and "Life is unbearable, hopeless, and uncontrollable."

Socioemotional Recreation: Ben

Ben was assisted in reflecting upon his own emotional and emotion management patterns as well as the patterns of his significant other, the contexts in which their patterns emerged, and the intersections of their respective patterns. He was supported in acquiring a job that was a middle-management position in which he enjoyed the process of working. He was given considerable instruction in how to bring his personal knowledge to the work setting and not concentrate on how he was fulfilling or not fulfilling an expected role. He also learned to make mistakes and enjoy making mistakes. He was asked to describe how the mistakes often gave him new

knowledge and the opportunity to contribute new ideas to the work environment. Ben also began to develop a hobby to which he was especially attracted—photography. Interestingly, in exploring, with clinical sociological assistance, his father's background, he discovered that his father had loved art, only to set it aside for fulfilling work responsibilities. Ben also began using his photographic talent to do projects that illustrated his new socioemotional understandings. For instance, he photographed a picture from two angles, showing how the stance he took and the focus techniques he used gave different views of a similar scene.

Ben particularly reflected upon his either/or linguistic formats. He saw how he, in relation to the family format in which he had been raised, saw himself as perfect (mother's continuing perspective) or worthless (father's continued criticisms and rage). He understood that his emotions had become evaluation. In performing, he realized he had lost out on "being" and "enacting" his authentic identity in the social world. His only safety and relaxation had come to be involved with distancing or muting his feelings of inadequacy and tension through withdrawing, overperforming, or drinking. With the assistance of creative sociotherapy, he became to feel he was a unique individual with many aspects, which he could continually validate or alter according to his values and desires, which included his respect and concern for others but did not encourage others being the dictators of his definitions and behaviors. Ben also was taught how to leave out either/or's from his vocabulary in a humorous and self-compassionate fashion.

Ben and his partner also engaged in interpersonal reconstruction. They were given clinical sociological guidance in the area of **responsible emotionality/emotional responsibility**. They acknowledged that they were the individuals primarily responsible for their own ingrained emotional patterns and that only they could initiate and request support for responsibly altering the patterns that had negative consequences for themselves and others. With clinical sociological assistance, they discussed and enacted ways in which they would work together on acting responsibly but also enabling the other to have the choice to be responsible. Ben reflected deeply on how his controlling of Leslie had reached a point that was not enabling her to reflect upon and take positive moves toward choosing to work, in a positive fashion, towards controlling her manic episodes and depression. They also worked out strategies that gave each of them the opportunity to choose to support the other. Ben began to ask, in a respectful fashion, for what he wanted. Leslie began to have more self-confidence and less feelings of being controlled in regard to her emotional patterns. Each also learned

new strategies for expressing their anxiety and anger as well as positive emotions. Interestingly, both began to work on photography expeditions. They planned trips where they could enjoy the environment and companionship as Ben took photographs. With clinical sociological guidance, they came to recreate strategies for socially intersecting in a more positive fashion. These intersections then became the context for new, positive emotions within and between them.

Ben and Leslie were also engaged in discussions regarding the importance of community contexts and resources and how they could contribute to as well as benefit from those contexts. They then chose to utilize particular resources. Ben joined a bipolar spousal support group, and Leslie joined an individuals with bipolar disorder support group, both groups co-led by a clinical sociologist. They were also encouraged by the clinical sociologist to play an important role in altering certain sociocultural context forms and processes. For example, they each encouraged hospital management personnel to initiate services that included not only the individual with a disorder but family members. In addition, they were shown how to contribute their new understandings to the community. Ben began to take photographs that represented insights he had achieved. He offered them to the public through established social settings and objects like galleries and publications. Wonderfully, his work began to receive recognition and acclaim.

Ben was also led to reflect upon how drinking had become a habitual emotion management strategy. When Ben felt overwhelmed, frustrated, or anxious, he managed his feelings by drinking. He and Leslie worked out more positive emotion management strategies and enlisted the support of Ben's children and Leslie to facilitate his enacting nondrinking strategies, including calling Leslie or a friend when he was experiencing certain feelings, or going on a brisk walk.

Interestingly, Ben also began to deeply reflect on current society's emphasis on achievement, status, and performance and started to work with his children on working with their jobs in a more beneficial fashion. Ben began to assist them in understanding the bureaucratic format of their employment settings and developing strategies to feel comfortable in their work settings and contribute new ideas in a positively creative fashion.

These are several examples of Ben's new socioemotional understandings and enactments. Only with socioemotional understanding did Ben choose to, with the assistance and support of his clinical sociologist, alter his situation and decide to not only live but live, with his partner and the community, in a positive, fulfilling manner.

Socioemotional Understanding: Justin

A second case example is Justin, a twelve year old, who had been, in the traditional therapeutic framework, labeled with hyperactivity attention deficit disorder, and prescribed medication. Justin was having extreme difficulties at home and in school. By working with him, his parents, as well as the teacher of his class, from a clinical sociological framework, positive change was facilitated by all.

Justin was encouraged to reflect upon his typical emotional profile. Two of his major emotions were anxiety and frustration. Justin was anxious about not being what he "should be." He was often frustrated at not accomplishing or doing what was expected or what he wanted to do. His father was very angry because Justin was interested in art, not sports, and Justin was having a difficult time with his father's criticism and anger when he was doing art on the computer. Justin also was deeply envious of his brother, who was considered "normal" by the family because he loved group sports. Justin had reached the point of managing his emotions and the situation by deleting his brother's name and achievements from family scrapbooks. Also, with his creative ability, Justin had developed a chemical solution that he used to secretly destroy the film in his father's camera that contained pictures of his brother doing sports.

Justin's parents were assisted in understanding how several of their linguistic strategies, such as "You should do this," "You need to do that" (according to their entrenched ideas of what a young man "should be") were influencing Justin's particular adaptive strategies. They were also instructed in how to reflect upon Justin being a young man who felt he was not fulfilling the established, current "sports hero" social role for young males.

Another pattern Justin had was constantly describing himself in a number of either/or fashions. For example, he would continually state he was abnormal, not normal, weird, or not average. Adding to the challenge was the fact that Justin did not want to be abnormal yet he did not like just being normal, for instance, engaging in group sports. He also was assisted in seeing how adept he was at noticing social patterns when he reported to the clinical sociologist that at school the "jock" was usually one of the individuals placed on the student council. In fact, with clinical sociological guidance, Justin came to realize that he had developed an emotion management strategy of not following regular time schedules (he was often late for school), and not paying attention in school or defining school as "boring" in order to distance his anxiety

and frustration over established school contexts. Justin as well as his parents were therefore assisted in examining and reflecting upon their emotional patterns and processes including emotion management strategies and the consequences these had for themselves as well as others.

Socioemotional Recreation: Justin

In a respectful manner, it was pointed out to Justin in several clinical sociology sessions that he had several patterns that were increasing his chances of developing future emotional distress and a strained and conflictual relationship with his family as well as with society. In an emotionally honest context and using various art and music therapies, emphasis was placed on how Justin had become "captured" (Cuthbertson Johnson and Johnson 1992) by focusing on status, control, and rebellion rather than intersecting with his family and society in a creative, self and other respectful and affirmative fashion. Justin's significant others were also asked to understand their roles in the situation and encouraged to develop alternative patterns of behavior. One major topic was the current social "sports hero" model. His parents as well as Justin were encouraged to reflect upon the societal sports model, not downgrading the value and enjoyment of sports, but thinking about how, until recently, sports had been mostly focused upon by males and how competition and winning were major social processes. Justin's mother decided to promote Justin's physical fitness by enrolling him in karate. At the same time she encouraged him to develop his artistic talents. Justin's father delved deeply into his personal concentration on group sports. He did not give this up; he still participated and enjoyed being with Justin's brother in a group sport setting yet he chose to add important behavior changes. He developed special father/Justin companion activities like hiking and boating. Justin and his father began, together, to enjoy the process of preparing for and engaging in these activities. Justin's father was also encouraged by the clinical sociologist to ask Justin to make sketches of the scenery they observed. Justin and his family were also worked with in learning how to bring up issues in an emotionally honest fashion and work on those issues, individually and jointly, in a respectful and committed manner. Justin played a primary role in this process as he had previously hidden his feelings and utilized deceptive, undercover ways to resolve problems, such as destroying the film in the camera. He and his family were encouraged to develop active/interactive confrontation, for example, expressing frustration in an

upfront yet respectful fashion. In addition, Justin and his family, because of their particular, ingrained patterns were asked to stay away from "either/or's," such as perfect or worthless. Also, they chose to not focus on Justin's performance. If they saw something they liked or that he was doing well, they told him what they liked about it, such as a piece of his artwork, or, occasionally, what they did not like about a form or color. They also came to repeatedly ask what he, Justin, liked or did not like. In addition, they facilitated Justin making mistakes without their becoming overcritical and controlling. They were also encouraged and assisted in developing ways to view Justin as an important, equal part of a family that valued uniqueness and differences, which included Justin's artistic abilities.

After deep sociological discussions, Justin came to understand the role of sports in society. This was not easy as he had developed a deep fear of failing at that socially valued ritual. A particular example is when Justin became considerably anxious, even physically ill, over the prospect of taking part in a community basketball clinic. Sports were then discussed in depth with Justin, and he was assisted in delving into his fears of messing up at sports and how other guys might put him down when he "goofed up." Also examined was Justin's fear of making mistakes and how the making of mistakes could be not just negative; it could be a positive, learning experience. In addition, Justin was shown three videos on sports "bloopers." Justin then became more amenable to attending a basketball clinic and defining it as a fun, exploratory experience and a place where he could make new friends. He was encouraged to take a current friend, who was also insecure about his athletic ability, to the clinic with him. In addition, Justin was asked to reflect upon his many-faceted social identity, including the artistic one, not just the "no good at sports" Justin. He was asked to bring, after attending the basketball clinic, some reports on what he had pleasure doing, what actions felt most comfortable with his body, which actions most difficult, and what moves seemed most coordinated or uncoordinated. Furthermore, he was requested to note several patternings/moves he could incorporate into a piece of art.

Justin's teachers were also consulted with in regard to Justin's patterns as well as their behaviors, class formats, and context. They were requested to work with Justin in steering away from statements like "This is boring." They were also encouraged to have him bring to class and share with students the excitement and challenges of his art talents. Furthermore, they were asked to have the class discuss the societal em-

phasis on sports in a positive, reflective fashion. As these requests were enacted, Justin became involved in karate, basketball, and special computer art graphics. He also became a straight-A student! This case, from a clinical sociological perspective, involved not only Justin's biopsychosocial patterns but interpersonal and social contexts. Others' responses and expectations were important; community image was valued; social rituals and objects like the basketball were involved; and social contexts with established procedures like the educational setting were very important. Only in working with Justin, the family, and the school setting were positive alterations constructed. Especially relevant was bringing to Justin's and the family's awareness that social themes and values, like societal emphasis on sports, performance, and achievement, played a major role in the emotional patterns and processes that had emerged.

Discussion

Clinical sociologists, with their strong backgrounds in social theory and a variety of sociological methods, can provide valuable socioemotional understandings of individuals and the contexts in which particular problems and disorders develop and have an impact. Clinical sociologists have the skills and experience for establishing and maintaining rapport with individuals, doing in-depth interviewing, and completing individual and family socioemotional profiles.

Clinical sociologists are highly effective individual, family, or group therapists. Understanding both sides—individual and society—and their interrelationship enables clinical sociologists to appreciate specific individual strengths and vulnerabilities and their relationship to sociocultural contexts. The clinical sociologists can advise individuals on likely contradictions between personal goals and societal possibilities and help individuals find a place or create a unique opportunity within established social settings. The clinical sociologist can inspire individuals' developing a special understanding of the limitations of existing social formats and conditions. Furthermore, the clinical sociologist can bring to individuals an understanding of social change in order that the individual can learn to develop, in positively creative ways, means to alter established sociocultural frameworks. In learning to take the role of the other, through clinical sociological guidance, individuals can come to understand themselves as well as others. Clinical sociologists can therefore facilitate empathetic understanding and respect for differing stand-

points and strategies and outline how certain perspectives can link or clash. Only with this understanding can personal, interpersonal, and social relationships be altered in a manner other than harmful, adversarial confrontation or manipulative deception.

The area of the sociology of emotions is of particular value to clinical sociologists as well as professionals in other disciplines who work with individuals with emotional problems and disorders. There has been extensive, groundbreaking work done in the area of the Sociology of Emotions, as outlined in *The Sociology of Emotions: An Annotated Bibliography* (Cuthbertson Johnson, Franks, and Dornan 1994). Socioemotional understanding does not rule out the importance of the biological and the psychological, yet it goes, in a positive fashion, beyond the current emphasis on emotion as irrational or unconscious factors, or individual disordered states as the products of a brain disease or a chemical imbalance. As Patricia R. Barchas wrote (1976, p. 303) "Sociological processes may set in motion events that influence biochemical mechanisms. Biochemical events may profoundly alter the ability of the organism to respond to its environment." As outlined in Cuthbertson Johnson (1989) and Cuthbertson Johnson and Johnson (1992 and 1995), the neurophysiological is intimately linked to the psychological and the social.

How individuals moderate and manage their emotions are areas especially important to examine. The concept of emotion work, as developed by Arlie Hochschild (1979), is a special area of clinical sociology expertise. Developing an understanding of emotion management patterns with a client can facilitate responsible change. That is, individuals can understand their patterns of emotion management. For example, they may continually distance one pattern of emotion by another or control their emotions through alcohol or drugs. They can also discover how significant others manage their emotions and therefore become better able to choose nondestructive ways of working with those patterns.

Clinical sociologists can also assist individuals in understanding "feeling rules," a concept developed by Hochschild in 1979. A clinical sociologist can point out to individuals what emotions are considered appropriate or inappropriate to experience or express in particular social circumstances in our society or in relation to specific personal attributes. Clinical sociologists can also point out sociocultural values, interpretations, or personal circumstances and experiences that may have influenced an individual's establishment of specific feeling rules.

Time Management

The concept of time is also important in clinical sociological understanding. A current sociocultural concept is "Live in the Present." Yet, many emotional patterns have become ingrained habits, memories that are not easily altered. Kenneth Gorelick (1989, p. 8) notes, "the past is an extraordinarily large part of the self. Perceptions, feelings and memory are reciprocally tied." Individuals may enter this world with particular genetic and neurophysiologically related aptitudes that may extend the histories of former, related individuals' adaptive strategies. And those aptitudes can continue, if individuals do not in an emotionally responsible manner reflect on and accept patterns within themselves and choose to strive for adaptive alterations. As Tooby and Cosmides (1990, p. 419) have stated, "Emotions and other component mechanisms lead individuals to act as if certain things were true about their present circumstances, whether or not they are, because they were true of past circumstances . . . in this lies their strength and their weakness." Yet, only these individuals as well as significant others and all of us who are continual creators of sociocultural contexts can work with choosing to maintain or alter particular patterns/processes.

The Importance of Acknowledging Differences

Another special area of expertise for clinical sociologists is working with individuals who have been socially discounted. Clinical sociologists understand cultural and subcultural differences. They can therefore assist individuals who are "different" in standing up for what they believe in and value, yet at the same time "navigate the social system." They can also encourage society to respect and value the individual and group differences, and design contexts to facilitate emotional respect and well-being. Individuals who experience severe emotional distress are often socially stigmatized and discounted. As a result, they are often reluctant to express their concerns or request support from others. Clinical sociologists are especially adept at facilitating understanding of the patterns and processes of those who have been through extremely painful intersections with life or have used their adaptive strategies in a self-empowering but other-downing, or other-empowering but self-downing, manner. Instead of stigmatizing or moralizing, clinical sociologists can compassionately accept differences in adaptation and the consequences of those differences for the individual and the community. In

doing so, they perform a critically important task: facilitating responsible emotionality/emotional responsibility by each and all. This is especially true for those who have been severely outcast and stigmatized for having "mental illness" or labeled as the victims of a "brain disease." Working with individuals from a socioemotional understanding and socioemotional recreation framework and reflecting on particular individual's pathways to coming to the conclusion that "I do not fit in this world any more, in any shape, size, or form," can be especially meaningful.

Through sociotherapy with individuals and family members and the use of support groups, clinical sociologists can have an important impact on assisting individuals and their significant others in developing patterns, processes, and contexts for creating different, more positive self/environment intersections. An example is an individual with bipolar disorder who proclaimed that "I am what I have to be when I have to be what I am." Only in discovering how he continually performed the expected, "safe" self when his "real" self was criticized, not accepted, or set aside was he able to continually construct and be his "am," a self that he created, valued, and respected.

Conclusion

Clinical sociologists are particularly well suited at understanding forms of socioemotional adaptation that have become particularly destructive for individuals, significant others, and society. How, for example, do individuals come to define life as hopeless, as a setting in which they no longer fit, where suicide becomes a strongly perceived alternative. Clinical sociologists can assist individuals in understanding how they have come to the emotional metageneralization, depression, and facilitate socioemotional understanding of individuals' established adaptive strategies, including outlining the sociocultural values and themes that have played primary parts in the formation and use of those strategies.

Only through socioemotional understanding can individuals proceed through the process of becoming artists of life, creators and recreators. They can learn to interact with themselves as well as significant others and social settings in more positively adaptive fashions. They can also learn to reflect upon certain social themes, emphasis on outcome, status, achievement, for example, that may have contributed to their personal statements and connected anxiety. "I should be doing better." "I am not achieving what I am supposed to." As John E. Owen (1963, p.

314) has stated, "Traditional arrangements of the economic-industrial system, family demands, and expectations of an individual in his ascribed role often exert a high price in human suffering and frustration."

Clinical sociologists can encourage responsible emotionality and emotional responsibility on a personal and community scale. Yes, Ben and Justin were the ones who became primarily responsible for choosing to alter certain adaptive socioemotional patterns. Yet, through clinical sociological intervention, they were facilitated and supported along with significant others as well as other social institutional members to reflect upon and choose to change some of their taken-for-granted patterns and processes.

Whatever the social setting or "society" of which individuals are a part, there will always be socioemotional disorders. There will always be consequences of certain values and standpoints that cannot be predicted. Only through emotional honesty, reflection, and responsibility—not a chore, burden, or righteous affirmation of an ultimate truth, destiny, or right and wrong—will individuals be able to work together toward positively adaptive life contexts. And, whatever life is composed, the process will continually repeat itself. It will always be essential to explore, understand, reflect upon the life created and to choose to enact, through positively creative endeavors, different scenarios. For those who have been influenced strongly by difficult circumstances or who have chosen adaptive strategies that injure themselves or others, responsible emotionality is the only avenue. That is, he or she can choose to work, with supportive others, to control and alter extreme emotional patterns.

Clinical sociologists, because of understanding both sides of the coin, the individual in society and society in the individual, are especially skillful at working with individual/group intersections on a therapeutic level. They are therefore particularly adept at working with individuals in facilitated therapy or support groups. As L. Alex Swan (1984, p. 94) states:

Group members impact the entire group as they explore and discover their problems with other group members. As they express, share and reveal their feelings, attitudes, thinking and disposition, they receive feedback, and begin to obtain insight and understanding and achieve a sense of relief and a feeling of well-being.

Life is a symphony, long, complex, and varied. There can be many different movements, contrasting forms, and keys. Only **I, YOU, WE**, as individual notes and notes intersecting with other notes, pauses, rhythms, intensities, and concordant and discordant measures, can con-

tinue to create those symphonies that **I, YOU, WE** as well as others can value, cherish, and enjoy. Clinical sociologists are individuals highly suited to facilitate the orchestration of life. Clinical sociologists can assist in describing as well as mapping humanity. Through doing this, clinical sociologists can continually facilitate **ME, YOU, US** to compose for life in an individually and mutually beneficial manner.

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Older Women, Younger Men: Self and Stigma in Age-Discrepant Relationships

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ABSTRACT

This study, based on intensive interviews with married, cohabiting and divorced older women and younger men, explores the impact of this type of age discrepancy on relationships and selves. Both the women and the men were aware of the stigmatizing potential of their relationships, in particular that the woman might be mistaken for the man's mother (which indeed sometimes happened). Although the couples' fear of audience response lessened over time, the impact of stigma on their sense of self remained. For the woman, her embodied self—body and face—was most problematic, and increasingly so as she aged. For the man, it was the cohort self: his lack of shared history with his wife, distance from his age peers, and precipitation into other age-discrepant roles, such as grandfather. Both men and women developed techniques of neutralization to counter stigma, techniques which were challenged only under conditions of divorce or marital problems and clinical intervention.

This paper is concerned with the meaning of age-discrepant relationships between older women and younger men, and with the reflexive relationship between cultural and clinical interpretations of age discrepancy. The cultural background for the assessment of age discrepancy in intimate relationships is the clear cultural preference for youthfulness over agedness, taken for granted by all the interviewees in this

study. My focus is on the stigma of age (Goffman 1961), and its impact on self-definitions and relationships with others. I propose that married or cohabiting older women and younger men see themselves as stigmatized, and engage in techniques of neutralization (Sykes and Matza 1957) as part of their joint construction of marital meanings (Berger and Kellner 1970). This foundational assumption of stigma has important implications for clinical practice, should the older woman and younger man seek relationship counseling.

Studies of contemporary demographic patterns indicate that marital age discrepancy is related to gender, divorce, remarriage and lifespan. A study of marriage in England and Wales showed that the tendency to marry a younger person peaks for both sexes at 30 to 34 years old, and falls to its lowest point at 50 to 54. Unmarried people in their 50s are more likely to marry someone younger (Bytheway 1981), although there are many more unmarried women than men at this age and upward. Remarriages are more likely than first marriages to involve an age discrepancy (Veevers 1984); women who were married previously are more likely to marry younger men who are marrying for the first time, and vice versa (Presser 1975).

Age-discrepant intimate relationships are part of Western history, and have had different historical meanings over time (Banner 1992). What has remained fairly constant is the institutionalized power relation between the genders which fosters resource inequalities between men and women, and which, at its worst, frames women as men's resources. Throughout Western history, women have been traded in marriage by fathers and brothers, to cement aristocratic alliances, to end wars, or settle disputes (Banner 1992). A woman's dowry or bride-price, lineage, virginity, appearance and age were all bargaining chips in the marriage market; older women (even widows) were sometimes "married off" to younger men who could not obtain better bargains.

The development in the eighteenth century of notions of choice in marriage based on romantic love (an idea that was superimposed on, rather than a replacement for, earlier patterns), precipitated some changes in older women's romantic options. Since romantic love was, and is, viewed as the property of youth, older women were seen as even more undesirable than when they only had to bring a higher bride-price. With the twentieth century development of competitive dating, a process which located all the power of choice normatively with men rather than women, older women faced an interesting situation. Rhetorically, they were free to love a man of any age. Realistically, women's choices were made within a structural context that virtually mandated men's choice of a younger woman.

Contemporary media discussions of older women and younger men insist that romance and marriage between older women and younger men are on the increase, both statistically and normatively (Houston 1989). These discussions focus neither on psychodynamic nor cultural areas of possible difficulty, but, rather, seek to justify and celebrate these relationships. A letter to Dear Abby, and Dear Abby's response, exemplify media treatments:

I am a 43 year old woman, divorced, no children, have an excellent job, and am secure in my position. Fourteen months ago, a bright 31 year old man came to work here in another department. The last thing I had in mind was a serious relationship with this kid, but you guessed it. It happened. I fell in love with him. He didn't pursue me. I invited him out first. We discovered we had so much in common we couldn't wait to see each other again. We're still 'in the closet' about our relationship, but we can't keep it under wraps much longer. . . . I'm embarrassed—almost ashamed—and terribly concerned about what people will think about 'us.' He's more in charge and mature about this than I am. . . . Am I crazy? Can this work? Meanwhile we are sneaking about like a couple of thieves. Help me! . . .

Quit sneaking around and don't worry about what people will think. Can it work? Yes, if you both want it. Please read the new book *Loving a Younger Man* by Victoria Houston. . . . It's written by a woman who once walked in your shoes. She resolutely reaffirms my advice: "Forget the numbers, and follow your heart." (Los Angeles Times Nov. 7, 1987, p. 3).

Although statistics on changes in rates of marriage over time are unobtainable (at least in published form), there is no doubt that the mass media have publicized the idea of increasing, and increasingly legitimate intimacy between older women and younger men. And it is also possible that the increasing ability of women to earn high salaries and develop their own resources enable some women to operate in the dating and marriage market much as men once did. However, while cultural and normative changes may indeed be occurring, intimate relationships between older women and younger men remain stigmatized.

In attitude studies (Derenski and Landsburg 1981; Cowen 1984; Hartnett, Rosen, and Shumate 1981) both adults and adolescents viewed age-discrepant relationships unfavorably, especially where the discrepancy was large, and saw the older woman/younger man type as more suspect and less promising than the older man/younger woman type. There were almost no gender or age differences between male and female respondents in their stigmatization of age-discrepant relationships.

Much has been written, following Goffman (1961), on stigma and its impact on the self. Goffman (1961) defines stigma as an elusive intersection of culturally disvalued attributes and identities with particular audiences and with the generalized other. He identifies three types of stigma: moral stigma, based on engagement in disapproved behaviors; tribal stigma, or racial difference; and physical stigma, based on anomalies of the physical self. The knowledge that one is stigmatized leads to an attempt to change the self in the culturally desirable direction, or to techniques that neutralize the stigma.

Techniques of neutralization are those ways in which the stigmatized seek to bridge, verbally, the gap between cultural expectations and their violation. While accounts are features of everyday disjunctions of conduct (Mills 1959; Lyman and Scott 1970), techniques of neutralization are directed toward the justification of stigmatizing behaviors or statuses such as juvenile delinquency (Sykes and Matza 1959) or mental patienthood (Goffman 1961; Warren and Messinger 1988).

A theory of stigma in age-discrepant relationships can illuminate the clinical interpretation of those relationships. Problems that are brought to marriage counselors not only have psychodynamic elements (Singer-Magdoff 1988) but also reflect general themes in the culture. These themes are neutralized during the idealizing phase of the marriage; once marital trouble is experienced and defined, they emerge as clinical problems. I propose that people in age-discrepant marriages neutralize stigma through the denial and refocusing techniques described below, protecting their relationship from the implications of stigma. By contrast, I expect that people who seek counseling for what they perceive as marital trouble redefine cultural stigma as legitimate, and seek to change themselves.

Methods

This paper is based on fifteen intensive interviews with older women (7) and younger men (8) involved in age-discrepant marriages (5), cohabitation (2), or divorce (1 man) (see Table 1). The sample was a non-clinical one of self-referrals from older woman-younger man couples known to the two researchers and three graduate assistants. The original plan was to interview each partner in the relationship, although we had some refusals (see Table 1). Most of the interviews were done individually, although the interviews with Iris and Joe and with Lilian oc-

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Wife	Husband	Length M	Prior M	Children
Sally 41	Bart 31	3 months	F-1; M-1	M-3
Belinda** 49	Keith* 37	7 years	F-3	F-4
Beatrice 46	Cliff 36	6 years	F-1	F-2
Iris 40	Joe 32	2 years	F-1	F-2
Lilian 48	George# 29	3 years	F-1	F-2
Maria 43	Arturo 28	3 mo.	M-1	M-1
Michaela 63	Joel** 53	18 years	F-1; M-1	F-3

* divorced respondent
 ** spouses who were not interviewed
 # cohabiting; not formally married

curred jointly. With the exception of that interview, where two interviewers were present, the interviews were done with one member of the study team.¹

The interview questions were designed to explore several areas of the relationship between older women and younger men in our society, focusing on the interplay between gender, age, and power-resources. We asked questions concerning traditional and nontraditional elements of gender roles, life stage concerns (since a marriage between a woman of 35 and a man of 25 presents different issues than one between a woman of 55 and a man of 35), sexuality and body image, history of age-discrepant relationships, and issues of children, childlessness, and stepchildren. We were concerned with the response of family, friends and colleagues to the relationship, and with the respondent's sense of self.

The focus in this paper on stigma was an unexpected outcome, rather than a focus of the interviews—although given the nature of the interview as a social form, it should not have been quite so unexpected. Self-scrutiny and techniques of neutralization are provoked by the expectation or experience of stigma. Combining the method of interviewing with a stigmatized topic, the interviewer (even one who is personally known) represents the generalized other as the embodiment of social standards and norms, while the interview method of studying a stigmatizing topic presents a natural occasion for the recounting of techniques of neutralization (Harkess and Warren 1993).

These women accepted the status quo when it came to their own interpretations of age discrepancy. They felt and in some cases internalized stigma, with its attendant feelings of shame and embarrassment. Their husbands defended their wives, and age discrepancy, but in the language of stigma-recognition: “she’s young at heart.” Only one woman, an academic, framed her experiences within a feminist critique of patriarchy. It is to their meanings, not those of a critique of patriarchy (however valid) that this analysis turns.

The Couples

The demographic characteristics of the respondents are given in Table 1. The age difference between the older women and younger men ranged from eight to twenty years, while the duration of the relationships were from a few months to 18 years. The age range of the women was from 40 to 63, and of the men from 25 to 53. The socioeconomic level of the respondents ranged from lower class (a maid and a hospital orderly) to lower middle (a park attendant and a computer technician) to upper middle class (professional couples), with a concentration in the lower middle class. In all but two cases (Cliff and Beatrice, where his was much higher, and Lilian and George, where they were equal) the woman’s income exceeded the man’s. Only in one case (Keith), where the husband was a graduate student at the time of the marriage was this discrepancy only a cohort effect rather than a class difference. All the respondents were white and Anglo except for Maria and Arturo, who were Hispanic immigrants. All were urban or suburban Californians, aside from Michaela and Joel who lived in rural California.

Most of the women and some of the men had had previous marriages, all of them ended by divorce (in one case annulment) rather than death. Only one couple, Pete and Joelle, had their own child, aged five,

although one wife had had an abortion, two had had miscarriages and one (Maria) got pregnant just after the interview. Most of the women and some of the men had children from previous marriages. Given the age discrepancy and typical gendered patterns in custody after divorce, the women's offspring were generally grown and out of the household, while the men's were younger but also generally in the ex-wife's household. Sally and Bart, however, had custody of Bart's three children from his previous marriage, while Lilian and Gary lived with Lilian's 20 and 12 year olds. Keith had lived with his wife's youngest child from her third marriage, but not with her older children from her previous two marriages.

The visual aspect of age discrepancy emerged from the respondents' stories as the most significant aspect of their experience as a couple in the world outside the household. To the interviewers, the age difference between these men and women was visually apparent. Exceptions were Joelle and Pete, and Sally and Bart, who seemed to the interviewers to be the same age. None of the women appeared to have made an attempt to appear much younger than they were; most used little or no makeup and did not dye their hair. Some were dressed in nonyouthful formal clothes, while others dressed in a casual, low-key style associated with no particular age group. Most of the men did appear somewhat older than their stated ages, generally because of beards and mustaches, and sometimes because of clothes that tended toward the baggy, grey, and nondescript.

Love and Marriage

Most of the respondents regarded their involvement in an age discrepant relationship as incidental to the fact that they fell in love with someone of a different age. But two saw a pattern in their behavior. Beatrice said that she had dated only younger men since her divorce in the early 1970s: "It just seemed that the younger ones were drawn to me, and I was drawn to the younger ones. I really did not enjoy the men a few years older than myself, or my age." Keith described his attraction to his ex-wife, and to his previous fiancée also fourteen years older than he, as not so much an attraction to older women as an attraction to women around 38-40 [he subsequently, at 40, married a woman of 39].

By definition, these respondents did not conceal their ages from one another. But the beginning of several relationships involved unawareness or concealment of the woman's age. Cliff said of his first encounter with Beatrice:

When I first met her she was just showing me through the apartment house and oh, I thought she was pretty good looking, you know, and I didn't know what her age was either. . . . I figured she was a little older than me, but I didn't know how much because she looked a lot younger than her age. . . . I think she was 48 then.

Sally was the only woman in the sample who "passed" as younger quite intentionally, by virtue of her appearance and chosen social circle. She attempted to conceal her age from her husband-to-be, but he found it out by looking in her wallet at her driver's license, and then told her co-workers. She said that she "Didn't want the people at work to know how old I was. They'd view me in a different light and that I'm not part of the mainstream."

In describing their courtship and bonding, both the men and the women described an initial irrelevance of the age discrepancy to their mutual attraction, and a subsequent relevance of age-related qualities to the continuation of the relationship. Pete's description of the development of his relationship with Joelle expresses the "in spite of" tone of all the respondents' (except Beatrice and Keith's) accounts of how they got involved:

Well, see, it wasn't something that was presented to me as an option—how would you like to develop a relationship with a woman who is significantly older than you? . . . First we became best friends and we really hit it off well. . . . things happened pretty quickly. . . . a real relationship based on friendship and communication on issues of real importance and that's what gave us a foundation for developing a loving relationship. . . . by the time it was taking a romantic turn, it, the age factor, was not important enough to cause us to just make an arbitrary decision—well, we're going to have to stop this thing because you're older than me.

The younger men spoke of special qualities due to age in the older women they were involved with, including depth, nurturing, sexuality, maturity, responsibility, and financial security. Pete contrasted young "superficial . . . dings" with Joelle, an older "real person . . . three-dimensional." Keith said of Belinda, "I like being nurtured and that's another thing about older women vs. younger women," and "With younger women I found them much less interested in sex than either Belinda or [a previous older woman fiancée] turned out to be." The theme of responsibility and maturity was also proffered:

Arturo: I decided to get married with her because I think she's more, uh, she has more years, and I don't want to go in the same way like the first time. My first marriage was a lot of problems.

Both Keith and Arturo spoke of the financial security marriage to an older woman would bring as one of the elements of their attraction. The older women spoke of special needs embodied in the younger men, which they, because of greater age and maturity, were able to fulfill. Michaela described how her husband had "a temper . . . a chemical imbalance," and how it was she that had helped him to cope with this, and with his consequently troubled relationships with his children from an earlier marriage. They spoke of an ability to handle, manage, or otherwise cater to their difficult husbands:

Michaela: I can work circles around him. And he'll say that too.

Maria: He is messy and needs training because he is young.

Some of the men concurred in the women's depiction of them as damaged, problematic or in some way in need of salvation. Pete described himself as "the guy she fell in love with, me, he had some growing up to do. I'm not sure it's all done yet." His specific referent was a "coke problem" upon which he was spending most of his income, a problem which "She saw me through" despite his being "out of control." Joelle's assessment of him was that "He's dependent on me for emotional support."

The older women spoke of their initial attraction as rapid and intense. Sally said, "It took about fifteen minutes until I knew I was interested" in Bart. Their accounts focused, subsequently, mainly on the ways which they met their husbands' needs. But for a couple of the still-youthful older women, with memories of painful divorces, marriage to a younger man represented a renewal of youth and hopefulness:

Joelle: just growing up [when he did] made them a lot more spontaneous and not so step by step . . . I was very much . . . 1950s. He taught me to be spontaneous . . . I felt [when they married] like I was twenty two again, a chance to do it right. He was prince charming to me.

The women spoke of problems in their marriages much more freely than the men, and were not hesitant to attribute problems to age difference. Despite Keith's celebration of the sexuality of older women, two of the older women said that sex was a problem in their marriages, because their interest in sex was winding down with age. Cliff said that his wife's "ending of sexual desire" consequent upon taking blood pressure medicine was not a problem in that "I have come to the conclusion . . . I've had a lot of relationships in the past, all sex and no love, and I'd rather have this, where there's a little bit of sex and a lot of love."

The paradox of older woman/younger man relationships in our culture inheres in Joelle's and Cliff's comments. Joelle, who celebrated her husband's spontaneity, also expressed its other side:

he . . . didn't care a bit if we paid our bills, and that would drive me nuts . . . so there has to be some happy medium there. So what's positive about that can also be negative about that.

What is appealing about age and cohort difference is also unappealing. And, for Cliff, neutralization of the significance of sexuality in his life was the consequence, ultimately, of his commitment to a much older woman.

Relationships as Stigma

The stigma of age discrepancy is, in essence, that of the dialectic of lover and beloved set against that of parent and child. The lover and beloved are sexual; the parent and child are not. The child is spontaneous (delightful) and irresponsible (to be trained differently), the adult mature and responsible. Western culture represents the older woman and younger man as mother and child, an imagery and accusation—since mother and child are not supposed to be lover and beloved—of which all the respondents were well aware.

The imagery of mother and child framed the two self-discourses of these couples: the **embodied self** of the visibly aged or young person, and the **cohort self** of the person belonging to a particular generation with all its history and taken for granted understandings. In general, in our gendered culture, the embodied self is more problematic for women than men; this problem is amplified considerably when women marry younger men. The cohort self links one to a set of others presumably suited for friendship and marriage; marriage to someone a cohort older or younger fractures the taken for granted sharing of experiences and networks.

The Embodied Self

For these couples, the most salient public problem was the embodied self of the woman, the fear of her looking older than the man, perhaps even old enough to be taken for his mother. Their wives' embodied selves became problematic for the men as the women grew older. Reflecting on his ex-wife, Keith said:

she seemed to be more fake as I got to know her better. Breast enlargements, colored hair, grey to blond. Also her hearing was, at age 44, kind of hard for her to hear, kind of like my grandmother.

For many of these men, the progress of time rendered their wives' bodies increasingly divergent both from an idealized youthful body and from the body she presented during the first months of the relationship. The aging wife represented both public and private departure from cosmetic and marital ideals.

During the interview with Cliff, this 36 year old husband of 56 year old Beatrice had spent twenty minutes detailing the positive aspects of his relationship. In response to the interviewer's question, "Any negatives?" he said:

Anytime that I had the feeling that people were looking at us, although it might not have been, say I'm walking through a parking lot and holding her hand. Now that we've both aged the amount we have, you can tell the difference in our ages better.

I: You're saying she's aged more than you.

Well, no . . . just different. But anyway that would have been about the only time, but then I got over that. . . . I'd have to say, when we were younger, it was harder to tell there was an age difference, but now there is. . . . I worry about that sort of thing because women age faster than men. Women are expected to look more youthful than men.

The stigma of gendered age discrepancy devolves around the cultural demand for "women to look more youthful than men," indeed, around the cultural focus on the embodied self as culture's mirror. Cliff, like the other women and men in the study, was hyper-aware both of his wife's body, and of audience reaction to the dyad.

The women echoed these concerns. Beatrice described her present self as problematic physically, and her projected, future bodily self as increasingly so:

I: What does the age difference mean to you in terms of the way you feel about yourself?

That is an interesting question and that is one of the sorest points there is. I am going to be 66 in 10 years and he is going to only be 46, and I'm going to be 76 and he'll be 56, and I'm going to be a shriveled up old lady and he's going to be in his prime . . . I am even now, just started about a year ago, trying to do something about wrinkles.

Sally, who recently gained 25 pounds, experienced stigma in the “snide remarks” directed at the disjunctive appearance of the couple in terms of the visual pairs young/slender, older/fat:

I asked Bart if he were embarrassed, because I know how [his fellow firefighters] can be, and I said to him when we were dating, did anyone make snide remarks to you, and he admitted they did, but he would never tell me the words . . . he’s a very handsome man. . . . My mother made a very snide remark the day I was moving. . . . in with Bart, she said to me, you know, Bart is an extremely handsome man, what do you think he sees in you?

As Goffman (1961) notes, some stigmata can be removed or modified, while others can be hidden. Concealment of true age is one strategy that can be used in age-discrepant relationships, as Sally had attempted a year or two earlier. Age is cosmetically modifiable to some degree in the direction of more youthfulness. Modification of the embodied self was one response made by these women, or suggested by the men. Lilian, at 48, insisted that she was going to have a face-lift so not to be wrinkled, like her sister, at 60 (with her own 42 year old lover). Arturo encouraged his wife to look younger by wearing miniskirts, because “if she was still wearing those older kind of dresses I would see her more older than she is.” In a miniskirt, when he looked at Maria he saw her “pretty, and I can see the person, the one I want.”

Although marriage in Western culture is embedded in social structural relations such as social class, income, education, wealth and status, the lived experience of marriage in these age-discrepant relationships is one of visual appearance in the public mirror. Income and education do not show in the body. The epitome of shame and misery for the mirrored self of the woman, reflected in the man’s embarrassment, was to be taken for the husband’s mother. This was mentioned by three of the women, ironically—since hers was the smallest age difference in the sample—one was Iris:

when I had my miscarriage . . . [the doctor thought Joe] was my son. . . . I had that happen before not with my husband but with another man I was dating. It’s horrible to me. But I’ve steeled myself to it.

During the joint part of the interview, Iris said that this had not happened another time, but Joe said that it had:

On the trip this summer, someone said, ‘your boy,’ talking about me.

The timing of concern with the couples' public embodiment differed between husbands and wives. For the wives, the most difficult period in the relationship was at the beginning, when they felt that everyone was looking at them. For the husbands, their wives' aging process brought the difference into focus over time. Beatrice said of her first months with Cliff that she felt that everyone was staring at them. Cliff described an in-love obliviousness to the public gaze that gradually gave way to a greater awareness. Joelle said, "I did in the beginning feel that it was obvious, and I was a little self-conscious, but again, all that is gone."

The husbands' embodied selves were seen both by themselves and by the wives as problematic for their adherence to, rather than deviance from, cultural standards such as handsomeness, slenderness, and youthfulness. Our culture provides the vocabulary and technology of youth-retention: hair dying, cosmetics, plastic surgery, diet, youthful clothing, and exercise, usable by the women to equalize the appearance of age discrepancy (although, as indicated above, most did not appear to have done this). There is no parallel vocabulary and technology for increasing the aging appearances. However, there were indications that these men sought an aging of the adornments of the body: clothes, facial hair, and length of hair. These aspects of the men's selves were linked to their cohort self.

The Cohort Self

In the private relational and symbolic world of marriage, the cohort self-mirrored and underlined the age discrepancy between these men and women. Both the web of group affiliation to which each spouse belonged by virtue of age, and the cultural symbolism common to that cohort, were problematic to these women and men. The youthfulness of the husband's cohort, and the age of the wife's cohort, were both problematic:

Keith: Friends . . . this was a perennial problem. We looked for friends that got along. Most of my friends didn't want much to do with her, a lot of her friends were **old** friends, about 50 years old, and to me, at the time, they were talking about Brahms and raising their teenage kids, and I felt . . . that I didn't have a lot to offer them, a lot of competition about, I felt I was being pulled between two life situations.

Iris: that is the only way where age has been an issue—a way in which cohort experiences impact the relationship. He might have some friends, girlfriends of some of his male friends, and they re-

ally are young women . . . they're yucky, they're young women in their twenties and I feel I have absolutely nothing in common with them. So that's almost an issue, but there are sets of friends that he was friendly with and I don't particularly enjoy socializing with them, so we just don't socialize with them.

Milt, too, described the tactic of not socializing with the younger cohort as a way of minimizing the relational competition between cohort and younger man: "I wasn't inclined to get involved with my own age group while I was in graduate school. It seemed that I had too many things to do to get in with somebody that needed me."

For the wives, clothing and hair styles symbolized both the age contrast of the embodied self, and the cohort difference. In speaking of his wife's view of him, Milt commented:

I remember. . . . her requesting many times that I cut my hair . . . [which was] in a pony tail. Well I mean . . . when we would go to her parents it was always very uncomfortable, so she would say, 'when are you going to cut that,' and 'when are you going to grow up and get serious about life.' . . . Cuz her children had long hair too.

Milt did indeed cut his hair and learn to dress more "maturely," in shirts and slacks instead of jeans and shorts. In response to the reverse cosmetic effect of facial hair, Milt grew a beard, and said of his wife

she liked it. . . . when I grew it she came in and said, 'you look, you look—' and I said, 'older,' and she said, 'yeah, you look older.' and I said, 'OK, that must work out alright.'

At least five of the younger men interviewed wore beards at the time of the interview.² Beatrice said of her husband's beard, "I've never seen him without a mustache and beard. And I don't want to. And I don't want anyone else to."

Cohort membership is symbolized to people socialized from the 1960s on, by attachment to musical styles, which, in turn, reflect attachment to a generation. No questions were asked in the interviews about music, but music came up in virtually every interview. After a discussion of age-appearance in dress, for example, Arturo said, "She like the music the one I like. Because, uh, I was thinking about it before I get married with her."

Sally said that she and her husband used to have most of their arguments about his music (rock and roll) versus her music (classical). In response to the question "what do you think the minuses are regarding the age difference?", Joelle replied:

I try to appreciate his music, and I've gone with him to events, but I think he's coming more to my way of thinking, we're in the middle now, easy rock.

Rock and roll or heavy metal music underline the youth cohort membership of the husband, and the distance between the wife's and husband's generations. As in the case of Milt's long hair, the young husband playing rock music reminds the older wife of her own children's musical tastes, and evokes the same specter of the wife as mother, husband as son, evoked by the mirroring of the embodied self. Only Lilian described in positive terms this musical distancing between herself and her mate, and linkage between her mate and her child (a 20 year old son):

I: How does [son] feel about George?

He adores him. He's an expert in rock music so they sit and talk rock music by the hour. . . . I'm not interested in it.

The differences in cohort also meant, for all but one of these couples (Cliff and Beatrice), a disjuncture in the traditional gender patterns of occupation and income. The lower SES level of most of the husbands, coupled with their younger age, resulted in either lesser or (in two cases) no earnings on the part of the husband. The income problem was an irritant in itself to many of these wives; it also symbolized the dependency of childhood. Sally described how her husband's messy habits, coupled with his economic dependence and student status, made her feel as if he were making her into his mother:

The word that came out of my mouth this morning is, Bart, your mother doesn't live here and I don't want to be one.

I: do you feel he gives that role to you?

He tries. . . . I said, you know, Bart, I'm not your mother and I don't want the role. . . .

None of the men directly mentioned feeling as if they were their wives' children, and only Keith referred to an alternative, more sexualized definition, that of gigolo. He said that

There was a little bit of my feeling that people were treating me like a gigolo, or wondered, I had a friend who came through saying, 'oh great, this one has a house' . . . Have you seen the movie 'American Gigolo?'; it's just like a connection, bang, bang.

Keith added at another point that he did "not feel like a child. More like a mascot. More like a lover than a husband. Perhaps I should have stayed that way."

Cohort differences also brought about disjunctions in typical age-related family patterns. Although some of the husbands had been married before and had children then, most did not expect to have children with their current wives. Cliff and George had stepchildren older than themselves; they and Keith became "grandparents" in their twenties and thirties.

Techniques of Neutralization

These women and men did not simply accept the stigma of age discrepancy, but acted and spoke in ways that countered it. The wives, as I have described above, tried to alter their physical selves and the cosmetic appearance of their husbands, while the husbands went along with the collaborative aging of their embodied and cohort selves. In the interviews, the accounts the respondents gave of their age-discrepant marriages included techniques of neutralization, which focused not so much on the self—which was obdurately cohort-linked, and only temporarily modifiable—but on transforming the cultural meaning of the relationship. Among the techniques of neutralization were various forms of denial, refocusing, and equalization.

The cultural meaning of the relationship—and thus the sources of stigma—revolved, for the men, around physical appearance, and family structure. Denial of the importance of appearance was effected globally and explicitly by denying that the chronology or the appearance of age discrepancy had any meaning at all. "Age is just a number" was a phrase used by three of the respondents to deny the cultural meaning of gendered age-discrepant relationships.

The husbands neutralized discrepant family structures by denying their cultural meaning. Cliff, for example, described his premature grandparent status as "neat" and "fun." Cliff and those other husbands whose wives were past childbearing age at the time of marriage neutralized the stigma of childlessness by denial of the wish for children. These husbands did not deny the value of children in general, they simply said that they had never wanted children, or wanted the particular relationship more than they wanted children. Of the still-married, only Cliff said that "Sometimes, I feel like I miss" having children.

The wives also neutralized discrepant family structures by denying that their husbands wanted or needed children. Lilian, for example, legitimated their eighteen-year age-discrepant relationship in the context of George's unsuitability for fatherhood:

I'm the person that he's chosen to have this permanent relationship with. . . . He wants to mate and settle down, but he does not want children. . . . he loves parenting my children. . . . For a long time I thought he was fooling himself, but I think he's right, I think given his personality and who he is that he would have enormous difficulties raising a very young child. Basically I am not sure he could do it.

These comments were also echoed in other husbands' and wives' insistence that the men were more suited to be stepfathers than to be natural fathers.

For the wives, the most emotionally wrenching problem of their appearance as part of the age-discrepant couple was the fear, or experience, of being mistaken for mother and son. This public stigmatization was mirrored in the domestic sphere, with the spouses' daily activities potentially labeled as symbolizing motherhood or childhood. Joelle denied the age-meanings of the wife-mother by endowing it with universal gender meaning: "I think sometimes that all wives are moms." Her husband, however, saw himself in childlike terms as "the kid . . . having some growing up to do."

There was some acceptance, implicit or explicit, of the mother-child attribution. Maria said that Arturo "is messy and needs training because he is young," while Arturo said that "I married an old person because I thought she would appreciate me." Joelle, having responded "no" to the question of mothering Pete, nevertheless said later in the interview:

Have you seen that movie 'Big'? . . . well, in that movie a character, a boy who wishes to be big gets the body of a 30 year old but the mind of a 12 year old. But the things you see about the 12 year old that don't disgust you, because they're in a grown-up are refreshing! And Pete had maintained a sense of adventure and totally being able to get involved in almost anything, like a child would look at a leaf and still be able to be fascinated with it.

And, as Sally described Bart, above, the disjunction of cohorts led to an echoing of mother and child within the everyday life rounds of some of these marriages.

The cultural meaning of age discrepancy was also neutralized by a process of refocusing: focusing the gaze of the observer away from the stigma of age discrepancy by refocusing it onto an alternative stigma or an alternative cultural value. Milt refocused the couple's mirror image on height, equalizing the cultural stigma of discrepant height with that of discrepant age:

when we would go to malls and things like that she reported many times that she noticed that people would notice us. That there was something about this relationship that wasn't quite right. She's also taller than me by about two inches so if she doesn't wear flats we look very odd (laughter) in the standard sense.

Sally said that she felt embarrassed in the relationship not because of "my age-self but because of my obese-self."

In one of the dyads, the stigma was refocused on the husband, who was described by both partners as a drug addict, odd looking, and (in contrast with his wife) ill-educated and sporadically employed. Joelle described her family's reaction to Pete: "my sister's first reaction was, can't you do any better than that. And my mother . . . we tried so hard to get her to. . . . get past what he looked like." Pete gave an almost exactly similar description, indicating that couples may jointly construct techniques of neutralization within their joint reality constructions (Berger and Kellner 1970).

One type of refocusing on alternative cultural values embodied in age-discrepant relationships involved the value of a time-matched lifespan as against death and widowhood. Early widowhood could be avoided by the matching of younger male and older female biologies. Several respondents referred to the differential longevity of males and females in our society, and its future impact on widowhood:

Pete: we realized that . . . we had probably done the best thing in the world biologically, you go to my family's home town . . . they call the house widow's rest because there's like eight sisters, all widows, we stand a lot better chance of not abandoning her to years alone. As for a new emerging policy [sic] for couples it makes sense you know.

A second refocusing technique involved refocusing on the alternative cultural value of depth, interestingness or "inside" qualities, rather than the visual, appearance ones.

Pete: if I was going to pick out of a lineup and name the ones who were pretty, I am sure I would pick younger ones over older ones if there were no more to it than that. You can't communicate with beauty, you can only look at beauty. And, uh, that's not what relationships are made of. . . . She was a real person, she was three-dimensional.

The meaning of age-discrepant appearance, which is clearly of great importance to the women's mirrored selves, was neutralized by Cliff's assuring his wife that "its your insides that matter, not your outsides. He

always tries to tell me that." Only Sally, of the seven women, expressed unconcern about the age difference or aging process, precisely because her mirror told her she looked 31, not 41.

Equalization of age was also described in biological terms, with some of the women and men claiming that the men were "really" as old as or older than the women because of poor genetics or poor habits. Lilian said of herself and George:

I've gotten more energetic as I have aged. I've got more energy now than when I was twenty. . . . I think about ten years from now he's going to be a physical wreck and I'm going to be in great shape. I think I'll still be running up the mountains ten years from now, and that he will be in very bad physical condition. I worry about him, I talk to him all the time about the fact that he's got to get out and exercise 'cause his body's going.

Age equalization had a mirrored, public as well as a private, aspect. Michaela gleefully told an anecdote about her husband (at 53) rather than her (at 63) being offered a senior citizen discount. She also said, "he's gotta keep up with me. No way. He's a stick in the mud sometimes. . . . he's older than me."

These respondents equalized the age difference in life experience as well as biological terms, denying the difference in cohort between man and woman. The two couples who met in graduate school (Bart and Sally, and Keith and the older woman he dated prior to his marriage) made use of this technique. Keith, for example, said that "Melissa and I were much more contemporaries, fellow graduate students." This equalization was completed by the fact that Melissa had spent fifteen years as a nun, thus erasing any meaningful cohort or personal history that might make her older than Keith.

Discussion

In summarizing the results of several clinical studies of older women and younger men, Singer-Magdoff (1988) finds "some degree of pathology" (not surprisingly in a clinical study). She comments that

The women in the December-May group apparently had unavailable, narcissistically involved mothers and highly competitive fathers who were high achievers and with whom the women tended to identify. The men in these relationships had powerful mothers and passive-aggressive fathers, some high achievers. (Singer-Magdoff 1988, 144).

She also reports "somewhat successful" "attempts to rectify early environment deficits . . . in these December-May relationships" since these younger men are "freer and not afraid to be expressive and nurturant." (p. 144).

The wives in this study referred not so much to their families of origin, but to earlier marriages to same-age or older husbands. A number of them were quite literal about their second marriages as rectifying the earlier "mistaken" marriage, and being given a second chance. They also contrasted their younger husbands as freer and more spontaneous, sometimes as more sexually sensitive—but not nurturing. The traditional nature of most of these marriages meant that the wives did most of the nurturing as well as most of the household chores.

Belinda, during her marriage to Keith, performed every single domestic chore, including ironing his underwear. Sally, whose husband was not working at the time of the interview, said that Bart

won't cook . . . [after she came back from work that evening] he said . . . 'well, what are you going to make me?' 'Well, there's some chicken in there, you just have to heat it up.' But, he wouldn't even put it in the microwave. So, I had to get up, take it out of the refrigerator, and put it in the microwave.

Beatrice, who worked only two nights a week, expressed gratitude that her marriage, and her husband's supportiveness, enabled her to be a traditional wife:

Well, you have to remember that I am 56 years old, and way back then the man went off to work and the woman stayed home and took care of the children, and I'm used to that.

Milt described how his wife came to him to ask for money to make purchases, and explained her behavior as cohort-linked: "I keep relating it to when she was raised, the time period." Pete said of his contribution to household labor, "Well, I'm pretty passive in a lot of areas."

Both cohort self and stigma may be involved in what was to the research team a surprising degree of traditional gender dynamics in household arrangements associated with nontraditional age relations. These women were, indeed, raised in a cohort earlier than the men in which it was assumed that the women would perhaps stay home and take care of the children, but certainly take care of household and children when they were at home. But we wondered if the women's (with the exception of Lilian) literal obeisance to the men's needs might re-

flect stigma indirectly, as a sense of obligation and gratitude, and lack of entitlement to the equality a younger woman might demand.

But perhaps this is a gender/income issue. Hochschild (1990), in her study of domestic labor among married couples, speculates that the extra domestic labor performed by women who out earned their husbands, as compared with those of equal incomes, was a form of apology for their income superiority. Beyond age and income, in Michaela's view, her catering to her husband was simply a gender issue: "I found out, women have to cater to men. Every one of them has some sort of bee up their bonnet."

Paradoxically, however, virtually all the women claimed in one way or another that they were dominant in the relationship in some indefinable way—perhaps as dominant as a mother, or mentor. This dominance was expressed most forcefully by Lilian, who said:

I'm completely in control in this relationship. It's very weird. . . . because basically I'm very free of the need for a relationship. He's not. . . . I can offer him all the glitter and glamor he'd never get on his own. . . . he comes from a working class family. . . . this is very exciting and wonderful to him. He's very proud of my success and he likes the money.

The reciprocal of dominance is passivity, or perhaps chaos. As noted above, several of the men described their lives prior to their involvement with an older woman as powerless or chaotic. Joel was a manic-depressive; Michaela saw that he got lithium pills and took them. Bart had no money and nowhere to live in the aftermath of a traumatic divorce; Sally took him in. Arturo said he married Maria after his divorce "because I needed a work permit." Keith said that when he and Belinda met, "she was real active and I was kind of passive in the process." Keith captures the ironies of dominance and subordination among younger men and older women when he says, "She had more power in some ways, more income, more things. But I think there's power in being younger. That was always a concern." The irony is that the active woman with the higher income ironed his underwear.

In early youth, men must disidentify with their mothers in order to become men as our culture defines maleness. Marriage and the subsequent domestication of sexuality and the life-round may come to reconstitute the early dilemma of identification and disidentification for men. Women may seek to shape and control their husbands' behaviors in ways that echo parenting. These emergent mother-son dynamics can occur in any marriage. But I believe that the structure of age-discrepant

marriage itself, amplified by the cultural meanings of such marriages, casts this scenario into a virtual inevitability.

All these women reflected upon both the psychodynamic and cultural stigma of the parental within marriage. Their voices speak from the tension of acceptance and denial:

Belinda: I really did not enjoy the men a few years older than me or my age, they were for one thing all macho and looking for the young girls. So, I don't know, the younger ones took to me. In that article, it said that maybe its a mother thing, who knows, but it doesn't seem like a mother thing.

And from the tension of nurturing and resentment:

Michaela: I'm the type of person that needs someone to take care of. I like to take care of people. I like doing it. I wait on him hand and foot if I can. Just like tonight he came out, he'd been in the jacuzzi with [male friend] and he took a shower and says, you know I want to brush my hair, I wish you'd wash my brush. Well what the hell's wrong with him going and washing that brush? So, I went in and washed his brush for him.

The men were much more reticent. Only Pete and Keith alluded to the son-ness of their emotional bond. But Bart was forthright about the son-ness of his financial bond. He said to the interviewer in a subsequent conversation at a social event: "I married Sally because she earns \$60,000 a year and that will put me through school."

Conclusion

The uneven psychodynamic, cultural, structural, and gendered set of relations between older men and younger women arises from the context of contemporary Western marriage, and from stigma—the public and private distrust of intimacy between older women and younger men. When older women and younger men are embarking on what they perceive as viable marriages, they protect the sense of self and other in the relationship by neutralization techniques. When older women and younger men enter the clinical setting, or contemplate divorce, the stigma of age discrepancy may be affirmed rather than denied or neutralized.

The central feature of stigma for the women in these marriages is the visual: the appearance of an older woman with a younger man. For the men, it is the cohort: exile from one's proper age group and place in history. But the lurking fear, for both, is the relation between child and

parent: the playing out in the marriage of a mother and a son, and the absence of a mutual child within the marriage.

What, given a theory of stigma, can clinicians expect from older women and younger men? Once couples decide that they are experiencing troubles and seek help, the mutual and individual neutralization of stigma may give way to a redefinition of stigma as legitimate rather than illegitimate. The husband may reconnect with cultural themes related to fathering children, and to the definition of involvement with older women as related to being mothered. He may take up the woman's theme of visual differentiation, and begin to find his wife's appearance problematic. He will re-connect with his cohort.

The wife may, in turn, take up the theme of the cohort self, re-finding her own place in an age cohort with its more sedate musical expression. She will approach the youth-reviving techniques of our culture with renewed tenacity, blaming her own aging for the breakdown of the marriage. Perhaps she will come to define herself as having sought to mother this younger man. The psychodynamic principles of suppression, repression, and the Oedipal-parental origins of current problems will be pressed into service by spouses as well as clinicians to replace techniques of neutralization.

This is the prediction of stigma theory to a clinical setting; it is borne out by our interview with Keith, the divorced man, and contact with him and his ex-wife throughout their marriage and divorce. His post-divorce comments indicate a marital history of neutralization followed by a separation-linked reinterpretation:

she was seeking a bearded entity to father more children. I didn't know that was her agenda, so I was kind of agenda-ized by her without my knowing it clearly. . . . the negative thing for me was the rush to have children. . . . Another negative thing was just the complications inherent, she was married twice before, she had a stepdaughter, a son and a daughter, none of which I particularly wanted, then she had two daughters from the second marriage that I was very close to . . .

I: was this sort of an attraction for you, that she had some of the things you didn't have?

K: Oh yes. In part some of the difficulty now is that since we've been separated I'm sort of growing up all over again . . . I think consciously and to a larger extent unconsciously, I had an instant family to walk into. I didn't have to make those decisions. I had to catch up real quickly. It was illusory in some ways, but I kind of caught up real quickly SES wise . . . I was an overnight success . . . But it was in a pretty illusionary sense.

Thus, in the waning or aftermath of an age-discrepant marriage, the real becomes illusory, and the illusory real. What seemed, during the days of idealization, to be the cultural illusion of stigma now becomes the suppressed reality. What seemed to be the reality of a good relationship now becomes illusory. This process, of course, occurs in the wake of any relational breakdown. It is the content, not the structure of the redefinitions which will vary with age discrepancy and other marital patterns. And it is this content that is shaped by the interaction of psychodynamic with the cultural images of ideal marriages, and of stigmatized ones.

NOTES

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2. Unfortunately, the significance of beards did not appear until after the interviews were completed, so that the visual descriptions of the couples did not always indicate whether or not the man had facial hair.

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Local Solidarity and Low-Income Families: Can a Clinical Approach Be Empowering?*†

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to determine whether a clinical approach can break down some of the barriers that exist between researchers and low-income families and individuals, and whether such an approach can be empowering and raise awareness. Research conducted in Canada on alternative resources for low-income families highlights some of the characteristics and limitations of the clinical approach. While the clinical approach can foster closer links between researchers and disadvantaged people, it does not necessarily challenge structural inequalities or promote empowering practices. A definition of the clinical approach is compared and contrasted with the approach discussed in this paper.

Clinical approaches in social sciences, both in research and intervention, strive to become as close as possible to the individuals, groups and communities in need and to assess their uniqueness, there-

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by gaining a better understanding and awareness of their situations (Hall 1990).

Following a short presentation of a current action-research project, the potential and limitations of a clinical approach as a tool for understanding and affecting issues associated with community development and social change are discussed. Can such an approach be empowering? For example, can it be used successfully to improve the situation of low-income, disadvantaged families? What role can these families play in such a context? Are they merely subjects of research or do they have a part to play in shaping their own destiny?

Robert Sévigny's [translated] definition of a clinical approach is used initially:

This term refers to a practice based on individual cases, especially problem cases, for which solutions must be found. And while it is not a question of curing or providing treatment, the concern is indeed to change, prevent or improve certain situations, to find answers to problems. To understand these problems, the researcher in social sciences also makes "house calls"; he works in the field rather than in the laboratory and tries not only to understand the illness, but to understand the patient. When he passes on his knowledge, he does so not only to professional colleagues, but also to individuals and groups on the other side (Sévigny 1993, pp. 13-14).

This article presents some advantages and limitations of a clinical approach, drawing on our experience working with disadvantaged families.

Poor Families in Canada

During the current economic and social upheaval, the "have-nots" in Canada often find themselves without the minimum protection on which they have been able to depend, to some extent at least, for their survival. Since the 1960s, the Canadian Welfare State, inspired primarily by the Scandinavian countries, has adopted programs that guaranteed some minimal financial assistance to individuals and families in need. However, even these policies led to a widening of income inequalities and to increased poverty among the poorest categories of the population: female heads of households, the urban poor and ethno-cultural minorities in particular.

Cutbacks in services in the 1990s led to even greater inequality and poverty (George and Howards 1991; Campaign 2000 1995). Currently, more than one fifth of Canadian children live in poverty; incomes of

poor families are 34% below the national poverty line (National Council on Welfare 1993); in Canada families headed by single mothers and teen parent families are identified as being high-risk candidates for poverty (Ross, Shillington and Lochhead 1994). In Canada, as in other industrialized countries, feminization of poverty is growing at an alarming rate. The number of poor children increased 55% between 1989 and 1993, while communities with food banks increased by 187% over the same period (Campaign 2000 1995). These are some of the casualties of capitalism, as noted by Belcher and Hegan (1991).

What happens to disadvantaged families in this process of disempowering the poor? How do they survive? Are soup kitchens and band-aid practices the only ways to survive? Do alternatives exist? If so, how are they created? The literature review for a project focusing on alternative resources (St-Amand 1992) revealed very few non-welfare alternatives targeting post-industrial poverty in disadvantaged families (Neisser and Schram 1994).

An Action-Research Project Focusing on Alternatives

In 1992, an action-research project entitled *Poor Families: Alternatives to Current Practices* was undertaken, with the financial support of Human Resources Development Canada. This project involved on-site interviews with nearly 60 community organizations using alternative principles and practices in all 10 Canadian provinces. On the basis of these "best-practice initiatives" (Clutterbuck, Davis, Novick, and Volpé 1990), a directory of alternative resources for low-income families in Canada was published (Kérisit, St-Amand, and Molgat 1994). The 1996 revised edition contains twice the number of resources (St-Amand, Kérisit, Martineau, Cloutier, and Malenfant 1996).

Poor Programs versus Inventive Networks

Today's institutional services, such as welfare programs, have at best only perpetuated the poverty of multi-problem families, who face poverty-related difficulties such as unemployment, inadequate housing and isolation (Zinn 1989). The above action-research project did not focus on the negative. Instead, the goal was to demonstrate the strength and dynamism of community-based alternative resources created to compensate for the shortcomings of these institutional services (Kérisit and

St-Amand 1995). Two clinical case studies show how these community groups invent resourceful strategies to help counter the effects of poverty and isolation felt by low-income families.

Based on Paolo Friere's philosophy (Freire 1979; Berryman 1987), this research project reflected the belief that multi-problem families are not problems in and of themselves. These families have resources and can develop original strategies for survival, mutual aid and problem solving. The project's principles are based primarily on the *Family Center Project*, run by the Brotherhood of St. Laurence in Melbourne since the early 1970s (Liffman 1978), and the *Best Practices Survey* (Clutterbuck et al. 1990), a Canadian study of innovative and exemplary services, programs, training and resources designed to improve the life chances of children whose families live on welfare and are from historically dominated cultures. The Appalachia project (Gaventa and Lewis 1989) and Michael Lerner's work (1991) have also demonstrated that grassroots initiatives should focus on self-empowerment in order to eradicate poverty. Saul Alinsky (1946) and his Industrial Areas Foundations have proposed pragmatic social action modes that many alternative resources use in their quest for equality and justice (Lancourt 1979). All these projects emphasize that disadvantaged people have encountered problems with the traditional systems and institutions created to assist them; yet, political leaders often try to find mega-solutions to today's social problems, rather than recognize the strength and diversity of local initiatives.

These alternative-type projects demonstrate that the community is where social problems are experienced and dealt with on a daily basis.

Example One: A Resource Center for Disadvantaged Families

This Center is located in a public housing project in a multiracial, low-income neighborhood in eastern Canada. This Parent Resource Center started as a small group of single mothers who began meeting to hold informal discussions on common problems they encountered in raising their families on low incomes. They decided to form an ongoing mutual aid group and were supported by a local health clinic in approaching the city for funding. They received support for a coordinator's salary and then secured rent-free space in the housing project where they all live.

The organization provides a meeting place for parents (generally young mothers) and their children. It has a drop-in day care center and organizes activities designed to reduce the isolation of parents and chil-

dren. It also organizes community solidarity activities and develops community economic development projects. The Center is run solely by the participants, who design the programs based on their needs.

The members have established a nutritional food cooperative and organized a nutrition course. As a result of this initiative, the Center introduced a community-operated catering service. It also runs activities and programs for teenage mothers and their children, organizes parent support groups and has established a committee against violence.

The Center has established links with other Canadian and international organizations and works to promote women's rights and the rights of people belonging to racial minorities.

One of the major needs of the members is employment and training, particularly for young black mothers, who are a majority at the Center. A group of members developed an action-research project to identify obstacles encountered by young single mothers when looking for work or seeking training.

This whole-hearted participation in the Center's activities and operation, coupled with the formulation of service requirements based on concrete projects in the community, has given the Center credibility in both economic and community development.

The title of the directory stems from this project. When a protection worker walked in the Center one day and asked to interview a woman regarding alleged abuse of her children, she was simply asked to leave. "This is our place," replied the coordinator.

Example Two: A Community Resource for Native People

This alternative resource organizes a wide range of activities and programs for low-income status and non-status Native people in a western Canadian city. Based on a holistic approach to social problems, this organization attempts to promote unity, respect and acceptance of all people through practices rooted in Native cultural traditions, such as the involvement of Elders.

Some 40 activities and programs are organized: social services, culture and language retention programs, employment training, literacy programs, recreation, drug and alcohol counseling, a hot meal program, a Native ministry, programs for young offenders, cultural camps and child care.

The holistic, culture-based approach of the organization is its unique feature. The Medicine Wheel is the core of its approach, which seeks to

link empowerment to individual, family, community and global development. Healing of the individual and the community are seen as related to each other. Physical, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual well-being constitute a whole. Counseling aims both at personal well-being and at restoring a balance with the gifts every individual receives from the Creator.

This organization's approach emphasizes the unique gifts that all individuals possess and their ability to create. Participants can express this ability through the many varied activities they themselves organize.

The Clinical Approach and Research Perspective

A preliminary definition of an alternative resource was developed in conjunction with community organizations. More than 100 organizations fitting this description were then surveyed. This initial survey demonstrated that:

- Many projects exist throughout Canada that are similar to those just described. Their efforts to survive and prosper are often hampered by financial difficulties and lack of acceptance by institutions and professionals;
- These projects are usually born out of local need and created from community resources, sometimes with the cooperation of professionals. Their development and survival depend largely on committed individuals who devote time and energy to them. This means that local leaders are more involved in helping low-income individuals and families than experts or professionals;
- These initiatives cannot easily be reproduced in other contexts, since they are linked intrinsically to the social, economic, political, cultural and even spiritual dimension of the host environment (St-Amand, Kérisit and Vuong 1994). However, their underlying philosophy and empowering strategies can serve as an inspiration to community resources elsewhere;
- Their missions vary enormously and take on a local flavor. Whereas some of them focus on a specific problem such as housing, employment or food, others adopt a comprehen-

sive approach to poverty. All rely on the active participation of members and on the dynamic leadership of very gifted, intuitive community leaders and activists. The range of services and links between them reflect the complexity of the problems faced by low-income families;

- These resources do not talk about “services” in the usual sense. The term “client” is not part of their vocabulary. “Those who come here for help are not referred to as clients, and we ask them to become involved in all our activities; the organization does not provide services, but offers support and information. We provide support, and we mobilize and organize,” said one community worker;
- Virtually all these resources are created and managed by women, except those for Native people, where some men were present and active. Like Morrissey (1991), we believe that further research in the area of female-headed initiatives should be pursued, given the catalyst role women currently play in creating and maintaining local solidarity.

Three characteristics of the clinical approach emerge from our initial observations. They include sharing of control, exchange of knowledge and adoption of empowering strategies. In our project, these characteristics were reflected in:

- Ad-hoc consultation with an Advisory Committee, comprising a dozen local leaders, representatives of activist groups and researchers, all representing alternative community resources in Canada;
- Publication of an interactive research bulletin, aptly called *Alternatives*. Three issues have already been published, focusing on housing, food, and the concept of alternative resources;
- Publication of two editions of *This is Our Place* (Kérisit *et al* 1994 and St-Amand *et al* 1996). This document describes more than 250 alternative resources for low-income families, in such areas as housing, food, employment and child care; and

- The decision to meet these alternative resources on their own territory, in an attempt to understand the cultural context in which people identify their needs (Lewis, 1966).

This clinical approach established that these alternative resources often differ greatly from the way in which poor families are perceived and treated by institutions and professionals. The latter see these people as being "hard-to-serve, problem families," needing a great deal of professional help. In contrast, these families see themselves, not as handicapped, but as dynamic people, actively engaged in their own survival. "We are sick of living in poverty, sick of welfare," said one member. "People are not problems, they are people," said another one. "We find that through collective kitchens people pass on their knowledge and share their skills" was another comment. As Gary Cameron pointed out, resistance from professionals is just as complex a problem as the poverty of low-income families.

At the outset, many professional practitioners were doubtful that child protection clients would participate in a Parent Mutual Aid Organization. They argued that the clients they served had too many difficulties in their lives and were too unmotivated or irresponsible to become involved (Cameron 1995, p. 7).

The research method adopted illustrates this key difference between a problem-oriented approach and a resource-oriented approach. The institutions, adopting a pathological approach, focus on deviance and the problems of the individuals and families, expressed in such terms as poor, disadvantaged, dysfunctional or hard-to-reach. In addition, they are described as dependent because they monopolize a significant share of institutional resources.

Two other characteristics of a clinical approach need to be highlighted. By going out to the people, it is possible to determine the specific nature and uniqueness of their resources. Field work is more effective than studying low-income families "in the laboratory."

However, going out to the individuals and communities does not necessarily promote an awareness-raising and empowering approach. Lagache, one of the founders of the clinical approach [translation] "suggested a more dynamic definition, arguing that the subject of clinical research lies in the study of the whole man (sic) *in situ*, in other words *a study of his entire development*" (Lefrançois 1992, p. 62) [our emphasis]. Like André Lévy, we have some doubts about the possibility of effectively transferring the clinical approach into the social field:

[translation]

To what extent and under what conditions can the clinical—in the medical sense, relating to sick individuals—be social, that is to say transposed to work with groups or communities? (Lévy 1993, p. 121).

Inventive Resources

It is possible for disadvantaged families to organize themselves, provide mutual support and sometimes even escape their poverty and marginalization, provided they have adequate support from community workers and institutions? Despite their overwhelming poverty and isolation, poor families continue to survive, fight and hope. To do this, they invent strategies, which take into account their resources and their limitations, including financial constraints. As one mother said, “For me, our center is like a blanket, a woven blanket, everything just works all together, held together very well. That’s what it reminds me of, it’s a blanket. It’s like security and everything is knitted together.”

Two other characteristics of this clinical approach are the co-construction of knowledge (Rhéaume 1993) and the non-neutrality of the researchers.

[translation]

Action is rarely neutral. Neither are the debates and decisions about the issues. At least in the long term, and often in the short term, clinical researchers in the social sciences cannot avoid taking sides . . . Their involvement is no longer neutral (Sévigny 1993, p. 24).

Like Saul Alinsky (1946) has so clearly demonstrated, particularly through the Industrial Areas Foundations (Lancourt 1979), some organizations, resources and styles of leadership are better suited to assist disadvantaged populations. A key objective of this research was to identify the specific characteristics of resources defined as “alternative.” The families we interviewed take the initiative to create links and develop projects with or without institutional help. We were impressed by their dynamism, creativity and sense of solidarity, and touched by the way they welcomed us. So-called disadvantaged families are not passive; they are involved in a process of reclaiming their lives. They are extremely active, interdependent, and resourceful, and are fighting with dignity for recognition and greater social equality.

The Involvement of Researchers

Neither the researchers nor marginalized people are neutral in this process. Moreover, both case studies demonstrate that families and the service providers working with them often operate from a clearly defined socio-political and economic perspective. These people are players, in the broadest sense of the term. "Helping out, not handing out" said one mother. "We're an asset, not a burden on society. We refuse to be considered simply as bundles of problems," said another parent. "The bottom line is this: people treat you the way they're treated. So if you treat people with respect, they behave like people who are treated with respect," added one coordinator.

It is not clear, however, that the clinical approach always encourages this commitment from low-income families and individuals. Awareness-raising research, feminist praxis (Welch 1985) and other alternative activist approaches (Cancian 1993) more clearly politicize the struggles of individuals with problems. This project, therefore, differs from a clinical approach. In this respect, Rhéaume suggests that a relationship exists between the clinical approach and intervention, which benefits research:

[translation]

The biographical method, life history and participatory observation are akin to the clinical approach: the researcher's involvement in his relations with the target population, seized with a specific action situation. However, the link with action obviously focuses more on research and production of knowledge, and is *less intermixed with a concern to intervene and to help*, as medical practice or organizational consultation would be (Rhéaume 1993, p. 88) [our emphasis].

A further limitation of the clinical approach, at least in this project, is that it focuses less on the intervention aspect *per se*. What opportunities does a clinical approach give us to become closer to disadvantaged individuals and families and their concerns? We are striving for a [translation] "comprehensive knowledge, a general theory that could apply in specific situations, that could help make the link between the general and the specific, between the abstract and the concrete" (Sévigny 1993, p.14). The experience-near concept, rather than clinical research, as proposed by psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut, seems more applicable to what we were trying to achieve:

An experience-near concept is, roughly, one that someone—a patient, a subject, in our case an informant—might himself naturally and ef-

fortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others. An experience-distant concept is one that specialists of one sort or another—an analyst, an experimenter, an ethnographer, even a priest or an ideologist—employ to forward their scientific, philosophical, or practical aims (Geertz 1983, pp. 57-58).

To describe this crossroads between scientific research and professional intervention, a service provider from one of the resources visited suggested a role for researchers: “to act as a voice for those without a voice.”

The Clinical Approach and Local Power

This research uses a non-pathological approach that does not separate the people “at risk” from their problems. It begins by recognizing resources, rather than formulating a diagnosis and then suggesting treatment. The research method used focuses on local knowledge and expertise; thus it encourages empowerment and growth, and recognizes and builds on the competence of disadvantaged families and local leadership. An exploratory approach such as this gives a voice to disadvantaged and low-income families, rather than relying on outside professional resources who are strangers to the community and its social, political and cultural context.

Such a research approach is under-represented in current literature, even in clinical approaches that [translation] “refer to a practice focusing on individual cases, especially *problem* cases, for which *solutions* have to be found” (Séigny 1993, p.13) [our emphasis]. Is this because their situation makes us uncomfortable, because only the problems interest us, or because their experiences reveal shortcomings in our system? By giving people the opportunity to speak up, we risk hearing what we do not want to hear. We first visited them on their own territory and listened to their experiences, so we could then reach a definition of alternative practices that reflects what they experience, suggest and invent. Rather than trying to find solutions to the problems of these families, we have tried to demonstrate that they had their own solutions, their own resources and, to quote one service provider, that individuals “who not only talk the talk but walk the walk” are best placed to solve their own problems. From this perspective, it is the families, not the researchers, who identify possible solutions. This especially is where power shifts and our dual role as researchers and professionals promoting empowerment becomes questionable.

A Change of Paradigm

Analysis that favors awareness-raising and empowerment requires a change of paradigm at many levels, including research. We need to focus more on mutual aid rather than professional intervention, on local solidarity rather than on "specialist" treatment. This also involves a change in values: from a dependency approach to political recognition of local power, from professional expertise to recognizing local resources, from dependence to interdependence between networks and services. In the clinical approach, therapists speak of cases, good and difficult. In this project, one mother offered a different description of the resource she uses, "here, we're not just a number." Low-income families are often victims of the professional assessment made of them, not only while receiving services, but also as participants in research. Alternative networks reject such approaches to create creative ways of being and working.

The Clinical Approach, Awareness-Raising Research and Social Sciences

The approach used to gain a better understanding of community resources and resourcefulness in this project demonstrates that clinical analysis is a means of understanding and action (Sévigny 1993), with some scope for exploring the potential of individuals and organizations. However, other research practices tend to remain less "neutral" and isolating with regard to certain socio-political issues. It might be better to adopt an approach that focuses on individual and community empowerment, yet recognizes the clinical dimension of problems, and does not dissociate one from the other. Clinical approach methods generally show little evidence of the awareness and empowerment needed for comprehensive, social intervention at a structural level.

If the clinical approach does nothing more than propose a different approach to the other qualitative ones, it may be the perpetrator of illusions. Even if researchers go out to meet individuals or fully empathize with their situation, they do not necessarily improve these people's personal, social or political lot. On the other hand, if a clinical approach overcomes these limitations to create interactive links with disadvantaged groups, it can be a very powerful agent of change and consciousness-raising (Stack 1975).

Some Characteristics of the Clinical Approach: A Summary

Following is a summary of the main characteristics of the clinical approach:

- Proposes that individuals, rather than researchers, are the real people in control;
- Relies primarily on what the subject says rather than on textbooks;
- Works with human beings in the field, not “in the laboratory”;
- Adopts from the outset a position of non-neutrality;
- Shares the control and the data gathered;
- Favors an inductive and participatory approach;
- Uses the researchers’ intuition, not just scientifically observable data; and
- Searches explicitly for solutions to the problems encountered.

Moreover, this project used some research strategies that are not as pronounced in the clinical approach. The main ones are:

- involvement of people and families in an action-research process; an empowering initiative based on local power;
- awareness-raising based on structural analysis and the principles of action-research; and
- a change of paradigm: from a method emphasizing problems to an analysis focused on resources.

Two years of action-research with disadvantaged families suggest it is vital to draw from all forms of awareness-raising research the prin-

ciples needed for challenging social practices and policies, with a view to renewing rather than professionally rearranging situations of poverty. A clinical approach may remain neutral and descriptive, merely presenting the facts, without interpreting them in their social, political, economic or cultural context. Used in this manner, it constitutes just another means of oppression, based on illusion, to use Heinz Kohut's expression. However, it can also be a tool of awareness-raising both for researchers and families involved in the exercise. In this context, we have favored research approaches that help lift some of the veils from what professional practices, both in research and social intervention, often tend to conceal.

The greatest limitation of the clinical method can be to remain blind to the conditions that perpetuate poverty, misery, marginalization and oppression. After all, these very social and personal problems provide continuing justification for research. Based on Zinn's structural approach to poverty (1992), the different social, economic and cultural conditions that separate researchers from marginalized families cannot be ignored when social structures are taken into account. As one service provider pointed out:

There is no short cut to empowerment. It takes time and practice to develop skills and learn about the issues, so that everyone can participate effectively in democratic structures. Individuals learn at different paces; confidence grows slowly. To cut short the process is to stifle the participation of women and other community members who are not customarily involved in decision-making.

Conclusion

We have moved away from the clinical approach as defined by Sévigny at the beginning of this paper in the sense that, although this approach "makes house calls," it is not a model that recognizes or favors links between individuals and their structural problems. Our "research-action" strategies cannot be summed up in a single approach. Is the researcher's role simply to [translation] "take into account the physical, physiological, psychic and sociological aspects of all types of behavior" (Mauss 1950 cited in Lévy 1993, p.123) or, for example, is it to intercede as a defender of rights? Depending on our position on these questions, research may remain illusory, disjointed, barely capable of awareness-raising, providing little self-empowerment to the disadvantaged individuals and families willing to become involved. In this con-

text, the difference suggested by Francesca Cancian (1993) and Corin, Bibeau, Martin, and Laplante (1990) between participatory research and alternative activist approaches deserves further attention.

If the objective were simply to adopt a different approach, a clinical approach would certainly encourage researchers to leave the hallowed hallways of academia. For some, this approach may be quite a challenge, accustomed as we are to our laboratories. But what purpose does it serve to leave our physical walls if the analysis we present remains isolated, detached and trapped within other walls?

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Reconstructing Self: Using Deep Learning Groups Among Adult Children of Alcoholics

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the use of the deep learning group model in affirming the self-transformative effects often experienced among members of self-help groups for Adult Children of Alcoholics (ACOAs). A theoretical discussion of the construction and reconstruction of self is derived from the tenets of symbolic interaction, social construction and narrative theory. The deep learning group (DLG) is presented as a social context in which members' life stories can attain enhanced meaning when viewed from intellectual and emotional standpoints. Benefits from incorporating additional tenets of emotion theory, specific to emotional resocialization, in the DLG model are also proposed. The stories exemplifying changes in self-concept were shared by members of an Adult Children of Alcoholics group during a one-day DLG workshop held in January 1995.

Introduction

Members of the modern social movement commonly referred to as Adult Children of Alcoholics (ACOA) are united in their belief that growing up in a family with at least one alcoholic parent has damaged their physical, emotional, and psychological well-being. Self-help groups for ACOAs, modeled after the Twelve Steps for Alcoholics Anony-

mous, have sprung up across the nation. Using literature and exercises based on the work of many research-practitioners who focus on the problems of ACOAs (Black 1981; Cermak 1985; Woititz 1983), these groups provide safe places where "men and women who wish to heal themselves and become aware of self-destructive patterns [can do so] through sharing their experience, strength, and hope with each other" (ACA Intergroup 1985).

Being both an active member of the ACOA community and past participant in several deep learning workshops, I saw potential benefits for introducing fellow ACOA members to the deep learning group (hereafter, DLG) process. DLGs are "truth-seeking communities of inquiry that foster the maturation of members in all domains: cognitive, affectual, and ethical" (Bentz 1992, p.76). Having a deep appreciation for ACOAs' quest for truth regarding personal history, conception of self, and current life experiences, I proposed a one-day DLG workshop to which all members of my ACOA community were invited. The workshop was held free of charge and was co-facilitated by Dr. Valerie Malhotra Bentz and I on January 8, 1995. Sixteen people attended.

Constructing the Self Amid Alcoholism: A Symbolic Interactionist Viewpoint

Although an extensive account of parental alcoholism and its effect on children is beyond the scope of this paper, a brief theoretical overview of the construction of self in an alcoholic family is appropriate to set the stage for the DLG workshop and the stories shared by the ACOA participants.

Following the work of Cooley (1902), Mead (1935), and Blumer (1969), the ACOA phenomenon can be understood as the manifestation of dysfunctional psychological, emotional, and behavioral patterns that were "mirrored" by the alcoholic parent(s)'s lived experience and subsequently internalized by the children of the alcoholic. It has been stated that the causes and conditions of alcoholism are located in self and in the emotions of self—chiefly resentment, guilt, anger, and fear (Denzin 1993, p. 58), all of which have their roots in the alcoholic's past. The alcoholic's past becomes a major influence on the familial environment s/he creates and in which her/his children now find themselves embedded. This family environment—frequently referred to as the "dysfunctional family"—is believed to cause "developmental distortions in the family unit as a whole and in the individual family members" (Steinglas, Bennett, Wolin and Reiss, 1987).

These developmental distortions have an adverse impact on an individual's ability to achieve "orderly growth around areas of specialization" (Steinglas et al. 1987), which can in turn rob the person of self-knowledge about their own innate or potential character and skills. Years of exposure to an alcoholic parent's abusive or neglectful behavior often leaves children with unexplainable feelings of fear and anger which can impede healthy identity formation. For these children self image is being shaped under powerful negative influences whereby alcoholic parents often, however unwittingly, convey to a child in many ways the message that "you're no good" (McKeever 1990, p. 32).

Instead of developing a promising picture of themselves as worthwhile, purposeful individuals, many children of alcoholics leave the family home with an "alcoholic identity characterized by developmental arrest" (Steinglas et al. 1987) and immaturity. Having been raised by an alcoholic who was unable to take the attitude of others (Mead 1935) or engage in open, honest communication, children of alcoholics often enter adult life poorly prepared to engage in adult relationships of their own. Even when exposed to potentially healthier environments (ie: school, homes of relatives or friends, church groups), the adult child of an alcoholic often ventures out into the world with a "vulnerable self" (Seabaugh 1983) accompanied by the ineffective patterns of thinking, behaving, emoting, and communicating learned in the alcoholic family of origin.

Relative to the experience of many ACOAs, it is hypothesized that inheritance of the "alcoholic identity" often leads children of alcoholics to display needs, perceptions and behavior patterns that reflect the meanings and belief system constructed by the alcoholic parent(s). These patterns and interpretations often precede any alcohol use on the part of the child her/himself (Cork 1969; Fine 1975). Hence, from the sociological perspective espoused by Denzin (1987), it becomes necessary to examine the connection between individual problems of ACOAs and their social/familial conditions in analyzing the construction of meaning and in deconstructing interpretations as well.

Reality Construction and Its Relation to the Alcoholic Identity: Applying Social Construction Theory

A major familial condition reported by members of alcoholic families is social alienation. This could be a function of the alcoholic parent's tendency towards self- and social-alienation (Denzin 1993). Alienation

of self and others distorts one's perception of self, objects, people and symbols that constitute one's everyday experiences, which in turn contribute to the "reality" that one constructs over time. This hypothesis is consistent with social construction theory, which contends that "the terms in which the world is understood are social artifacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people" and that "forms of negotiated understanding are of crucial significance in social life" (Gergen 1985, pp. 5,7). As the alcoholic family alienates itself from the outside world (often with the intention of protecting or hiding the alcoholic), children are increasingly influenced by the "social artifacts" and "negotiated understandings" as derived under the effects of alcoholism.

The testimonies of many ACOAs would indicate that the social artifacts and negotiated understandings, which contribute to a child's account of the world and self, become significantly tainted and misconstrued under the effects of parental alcoholism. It is precisely the need to change the debased perceptions and sub-optimal world view (Myers et al. 1991) characteristic of the alcoholic identity that forms the focus of the ACOA literature and much of the discussion at ACOA group meetings. One piece of ACOA literature offers the following explanation of the phenomenon: "These symptoms of the family disease of alcoholism made us para-alcoholics: those who take on the characteristics of the disease without ever taking a drink" (ACOA 1986). (It is not my intention here to either defend or criticize the ACOA literature; I present it only as the basis of the ACOA community narrative which will be discussed below.)

Reconstructing Reality and Self in the ACOA Community: A Function of Cognition and Emotional Resocialization

"ACOA groups provide an ideology and social support network that help members to reconstruct their lives and reinterpret them in a new way" (Rudy 1991). The group's ideology is constituent of its "community narrative" (Rappaport 1994), which is comprised of the beliefs, understandings, and language used in the group's written literature and verbal conventions. The community narrative can also be understood as the "system of intelligibility" (Gergen and Gergen 1983), which captures the essence of the community's philosophy and pragmatics. It also offers "new languages of self" (Denzin 1987, p.19), which assist members in constructing and narrating new, more positive concepts of self.

To the sociological practitioner, the ACOA community can be viewed as a rich setting in which to explore the social construction—and reconstruction—of self. Exposure to a new ideology, cognitive learning, and the development of narrative skills are critical contributors to the social reconstruction and “restorying” of self. However, the growing body of literature on the sociology of emotions (See Cuthbertson-Johnson, Franks, and Donan 1994) suggests another essential component involved in the reconstruction of self: emotional resocialization. Implied by this term is the individual’s conscious effort to alter the emotion responses—biological as well as behavioral—allied with former belief systems and behavior patterns. It requires (a) an awareness of the socially acquired factors that have dictated our emotional states and responses to date, and (b) a concerted effort to negotiate new emotion vocabularies and responses in the context of an alternative social situation.

The constructionist position taken here regards emotion and emotion responses as functions of both “real” ontological experience and sociocultural factors. It also recognizes “that many emotions can exist only in the reciprocal exchanges of a social encounter” (Harré 1986, p.5) and hence, are themselves social constructions. Viewed from this perspective, the often ineffective construction and displays of emotion within the alcoholic family are rendered temporary or “transient social roles” (Averill 1986). As such, these emotion “roles” can be changed or reconstructed in the reciprocal exchanges of new social encounters.

Compared to those of the alcoholic family, the social encounters experienced in the ACOA community are more conducive to the construction of effective emotion roles. What altered emotion roles, then, might evolve as ACOA members expose themselves to novel reciprocal exchanges characteristic of social encounters in the ACOA community? Many ACOA meetings focus on emotion topics as fear and anger. However, are members consciously aware of the need to renegotiate or “resocialize” the meanings affixed to such emotion words? As new beliefs are internalized, is there a conscious effort to reexamine emotion roles (i.e., emotion vocabularies and learned emotion responses) as processes essential to the reconstruction of self?

Although the ACOA group is regarded as a context supportive of the cognitive and narrative processes inherent in the social reconstruction of self, the DLG is offered as a context more conducive to facilitating emotional resocialization. With its grounding in both intellectual and emotional learning, it is suggested that the DLG can support self-reconstructive processes initiated by ACOA group involvement. This is

accomplished by providing a social context in which (a) the new social reality of ACOA members can be narrated, (b) the intellectual learning (i.e., incorporation of new beliefs) of members can be affirmed and validated, and (c) the significant role of emotional resocialization can be demonstrated.

The Deep Learning Group: Extending the Discursive Boundaries of the ACOA Group Experience

The DLG is designed to promote meaningful and transferable learning experiences by synthesizing the rudiments of intellectual learning and emotional learning. (See Bentz 1992, for a comprehensive overview and case study of DLGs.) One part of the DLG's approach to emotional learning is found in the tenets of Virginia Satir's (1983) "conjoint family therapy," wherein it is believed that the "emotional dynamics in current relationships are continuations of patterns learned in our families of origin" (Bentz 1992, p.75). The other part draws from Robert Langs' (1983) work on the derivative meanings of communication: "By analyzing the implications of chosen topics for sociodrama, role play, or discussion in the group, members can evoke and realize unconscious fantasies and fears as well as unacknowledged emotions" (Bentz 1992, p.75).

The intellectual learning component of the DLG process is a reflection of the truth and meaning sought by group members—that which becomes the aim of the group. In this DLG for ACOA group members, the "truth" sought reflects meaning found in what Bruner (1986) calls the "narrative mode of thought [which] establishes not truth but verisimilitude" (p.11). It is assumed here that verisimilitudes established among ACOA group members are influenced by the community narrative to which members are exposed. As discussed above, the ACOA community narrative takes on an identity of its own as it defines the purpose of the community and offers a system of beliefs comprising explanations for members' problems as well as recommended steps for problem resolution.

The emotional learning component of the DLG process invites scrutiny of the "unexamined commonsense assumptions of our local culture" (Harré 1986, p. 4) with respect to the meanings we affix to emotion words and emotional situations. Deep learning theory embraces the constructionist belief that, in the realm of human emotions, "we can do only what our linguistic resources and repertoire of social practices per-

mit or enable us to do" (Harré 1986, p. 4). As discussed above, many of our emotional roles or habits—our emotional "profile"—are products of our social encounters. Given this understanding, the DLG conducted for these ACOA members was designed to highlight the persistence of emotion meanings and responses that were learned in the alcoholic family—meanings and responses that are now incongruent with the new beliefs about self and one's social reality that are being acquired in the ACOA community.

The DLG proceeded from the position that ACOA group meetings typically provide members with a dialogic context in which narrative modes of thought—and life stories—can be organized and reorganized. It is recognized that the restorying of lives, as inspired by new beliefs, contributes to the process of identity and world view transformation (Kennedy 1991; Humphreys 1993). However, it is suggested here that enduring transformations of self occur only when one's cognitive restructuring, as resulting from changes in beliefs, is accompanied by similarly altered meanings of certain emotions and subsequent emotional responses. Specific to the cases of ACOAs, it is important to (a) understand the adverse effects of the dysfunctional communication styles and patterns of interaction of one's family of origin, and (b) neutralize the distressful emotional patterns that accompanied such interaction.

Given its emphasis on both intellectual learning and emotional learning, the DLG experience, when coupled with involvement in a self-help group like ACOA, can support and facilitate processes underlying self-transformation. The DLG can provide a supportive, learning environment in which the transformative cognitive and narrative processes initiated by the ACOA group experience can be furthered by focusing on the development of new emotional response patterns. Such an integrated approach to human growth and development is supported by the work of some contemporary theorists who are incorporating cognitive elements such as belief and judgement in their theories of emotion (See Leventhal 1980 as cited in Harré 1986).

The potential benefits of coupling the DLG process with ACOA group experience become increasingly evident in the face of clinical data suggesting that, as adults, children of alcoholics harbor high levels of anger (Kritsberg 1986) that need an outlet for expression. Although ACOA group meetings can serve as outlets for such expression, from a sociological practitioner's standpoint, the DLG can provide additional opportunities for members to (a) examine the emotional, physiological aspects of their anger; (b) understand how they use various emotion

vocabularies (Harré 1986), of which anger is a part; and (c) affirm the extent to which their ACOA experience has helped alter the "interpretive frameworks" (Goffman 1974) that underpin their life stories.

The DLG extends the discursive boundaries typical of ACOA meetings. Borrowing from the techniques of Thomas Scheff (1990), the DLG includes "discourse analysis," which "goes beneath and beyond the words verbally expressed, to interpret the underlying emotions (Bentz 1992, p. 76) of the story-teller in the present moment. Scheff's (1990) model of a DLG seminar reflects his linkage of emotions to the quality of social bonds and incorporates insights from his work in the areas of self-esteem, shame/pride, solidarity, and alienation— issues pertinent to the expressed problems of ACOAs. The DLG's use of sociodramas and role play provide members opportunities for "safe" social encounters through which learned emotional patterns can be evoked, analyzed, and modified.

Given its focus on emotional and intellectual learning, the DLG can provide a context—complimentary to that of the ACOA group—where deep learning, marked by self-reflection, catharses of recognition and release (Bentz 1992), can take place. Key distinctions between the DLG process and an ACOA group meeting include (a) the presence of a trained group facilitator; (b) a more dynamic, interactive group format; and (c) the attempt to "monitor and include the responses and cues of the bodies of the participants" (Bentz 1992). Troublesome understandings and feelings shared among ACOAs—that which one researcher of self-help groups has referred to as the "emotionscape" of the situation (Borkman 1984)—are given particular emphasis in the DLG. The DLG co-facilitators in this case approached individual "emotionscapes" and human development in general from their respective training in clinical sociology and social constructionism.

The Deep Learning Group as a Context for Affirming Reconstructions of Self and Promoting Emotional Resocialization

Of the sixteen DLG participants, ten were active members of my ACOA group; there were fourteen women and two men. (Since the meeting was not taped, the discussion that follows is drawn from my notes, easel paper notations, and personal recollections.)

After a brief discussion of the theoretical foundation of the DLG model, the group was asked to write responses to the following brief

inquiries intended to get us in touch with our lingering “ghosts of childhood” (See Bentz 1989):

1. What nicknames did you have?
2. What did your parents or siblings call you?
3. What did they expect of you?
4. How did they speak of you to others?

Emerging themes from this exercise included lack of self-identity, insecurity, lack of trust, fear and shame. The exercise invited the storying of problematic childhood experiences recollected now with the new language of self offered by the ACOA community narrative. As one participant recalls:

Everything was too formal, too cold to allow the use of any nicknames. There wasn't the kind of closeness in my family to generate, you know, any terms of endearment. I was kinda the lost child of the family, you know, the one who tried to escape the chaos by becoming sort of invisible. I know now that was my coping mechanism, my survival strategy. The only thing that was expected of me was that I stay out of my parents' way. You know, you could be seen but you better not be heard. So I was a quiet and shy kid—mainly because I wasn't encouraged to talk at home and never really got a sense of who I was as a person. I certainly didn't think of myself as being of any worth or importance. I always felt very isolated—mainly because I always felt I had to protect myself.

This excerpt provides evidence of a consciously recollected childhood self—a recollection of a prior self constructed anew with conscious awareness acquired through exposure to the ACOA community narrative. New understanding of such terms as the lost child, coping mechanism, and survival strategy reveals an acceptance of some of the concepts used in the ACOA community narrative to explain “what really happened” while growing up amid alcoholism. This person's understanding of self-isolation as a means of protecting oneself can be traced back to the ACOA Problem Statement, which is frequently read at the beginning of ACOA group meetings:

Many of us found we had several characteristics in common as a result of being brought up in alcoholic or dysfunctional households. We had come to feel isolated, uneasy with other people, especially authority figures. To protect ourselves, we became people-pleasers, even though we lost our own identities in the process.

The "reconstructed self" emerging from such intellectual learning can be heard in a later segment of this person's story:

In ACOA I came to think of myself as a worthwhile person. I started to believe that my thoughts and opinions do matter; that I have a purpose in this world. I don't have to be so afraid all the time. It's such an accomplishment for me just to be able to tell the story of my childhood here today, or in ACOA meetings. I could never have done that a few years ago. I would've thought, 'Heck, no one wants to hear about your life; no one cares.' Now, when I share stories about how I used to think and be, people not only listen, but they also relate to my experience and empathize with me; it's so affirming for me. I also accept the fact that however bad things were, there was a reason for it, you know, a lesson, something I needed to learn—like a spiritual lesson—to help me be the person I'm becoming now. I'm finding a lot of peace in that.

At this point the facilitators called attention to the significance of this story as an example of a self being "reconstructed." The story exemplifies the power attributed to the narrative process in the storying and re-storying of lives (See Bruner 1986; Gergen 1985; White and Epston 1990). It provides another demonstration of Bruner's hypothesis that "the interpretation of [one's] current living circumstances shifts radically with the generation of a new story that proposes an alternative history and future" (White and Epston 1990, p.10).

This segment of the DLG focused on gathering further accounts of "reconstructed" selves in the stories shared by other ACOA participants. Credit for such self-transformation was often given to the ACOA experience. Remarks prefaced by statements like "before ACOA, I believed . . ." or "after I came to ACOA, I learned . . ." became common. Participants affirmed each other's reconstructed self by commenting on the changes they could see in one another. They freely exchanged recollections of experiences with one another that offered evidence of change in one another's beliefs, behaviors, and emotional responses. The facilitators concluded this segment of the workshop by pointing out the extent to which the ACOA community narrative has played a key role in contributing to members' intellectual learning and how that learning has in turn contributed to their efforts in reconstructing self.

The next segment of the workshop focused on participants' emotional profiles. The facilitators took care in emphasizing that "changing one's thinking" is only part of the challenge involved in the reconstruction of self. The other part involves changing one's emotional profile—the ways in which we interpret and respond to emotional situations.

Participants were cautioned that the exercises to follow would themselves simulate emotional situations. Those feeling uncomfortable with such emotionally-laden enactments were encouraged not to participate.

Participants were asked to reflect once again on the four questions above and their answers. They were then asked to get in touch with an emotion that is evoked. One participant shared her emotion concerning the absence of direct communication in her family regarding the expectations of others for herself:

It wasn't so much what was said to me as a kid as it was the non-verbal communication. That's what lead me to come up with a lot of wrong answers. I shouldn't have had to live for so long being so scared just because I had the wrong answers. There were a lot of things they (her parents) could've taught me. It makes me mad—I feel angry—now that I think about it.

As people took turns telling stories prompted by the four questions, the DLG became a safe place for social encounters through which emotional patterns were evoked and deep feelings could subsequently be released. All group members eventually became “comforters” for each other through empathic listening and the physical embraces that were freely exchanged. The solemn, yet unspoken, rules overshadowing communication styles in the alcoholic family (e.g., don't talk, don't feel, don't trust) were broken.

The aim of this exercise was to make participants aware that “the way emotion words [like ‘anger’] are used is intimately bound up with the situations, social contexts and moral imperatives of the display, feeling and interpretation of emotions” (Harré 1986, p. 6). In the example above, the moral order of the alcoholic family is called into question as this participant expresses her disapproval of the nonverbal communication and negative messages that were typical within that social context. Her belief that such a situation “shouldn't” have happened has become the target of her anger. As discussed below, the next segment of the workshop focused on similar feelings participants were harboring about various other beliefs. The aim here was to demonstrate how (a) our emotions often reflect the emotion repertoires of the people within the culture in which we are embedded, and (b) as our social contexts and system of beliefs change, it becomes necessary to “resocialize” our emotions.

In the afternoon we engaged in an exercise entitled “Spirits of Adulthood.” Participants were asked to tell a story about a belief they once had as a child that has since been changed. An example of some of the

responses can be drawn from a composite of remarks made by several of the ACOA women:

I used to believe that men were more important than women. That women must play dumb and be perfect—while not knowing what perfect is. Now I think that those kinds of erroneous beliefs were passed down to women by men who didn't want to lose power. I used to believe that if I just knew the rules, I'd be OK. Since changing that belief, I've done so much more with my life than I ever dreamed I could have. I know I've grown in these rooms (ACOA meetings). I've become more aware and cannot be held hostage by my past any longer.

To this one of the men added,

I once believed that you had to be tough and take your own pain. I've learned empathy for others now and a new regard for myself. I am more sensitive than those in my family and now I can be sensitive yet not put a moral judgement on the insensitivity of others.

As more stories were told, the re-conceptions that the story-teller had of her/himself were affirmed by the group. One person even attempted to articulate the process she believed she went through to achieve her life reconstruction (although she did not use that term):

I started out with no core, no self-worth. Life was a fearful adventure. I never felt safe at home so how was I supposed to feel safe out there? I knew I didn't have the social skills I should have had so my art work became my therapy and my teacher. As I began to feel the spirituality of the [ACOA] program, that sense of divided self subsided. I could begin to allow my life experiences to become my lessons too.

Linking Beliefs and Emotions: Contextual Connections to Emotion Theory

As stated earlier, a significant attribute of the DLG is its focus on synthesizing intellectual and emotional learning. To this end, a role-play exercise was introduced to bridge the previous exercises that highlighted (a) changes in one's beliefs and (b) awareness of one's experience of emotion. This exercise was designed to demonstrate the critical, yet often unrecognized, link between beliefs and emotions.

The story-teller above was asked how she felt after sharing her story about being so fearful as a child. "I feel angry. I hurt. I can feel it in my neck and in my shoulders," was her reply. After receiving a brief yet

consoling back rub by another group member, the woman was asked if she'd care to engage in a role-play for the purpose of examining relational and emotional patterns that she may still be harboring related to this particular event in her past. She agreed and became the protagonist in a role-play, which she also directed, with her "mother."

The first "act" centered on her recollection of a time when she was fearful as a child—an incident she believes could have been handled by her mother in a way that could have dispelled her fears rather than sustain them. The memory and the simulated context of the DLG provided the opportunity for the woman to be in that previous time (T1) and conjure up the feelings she recalled having during that specific interchange with her mother. The second act of the role-play brought our protagonist to the present time (T2) and she was encouraged to engage in a similar dialogue with her "mother." This time she was encouraged to handle herself the way she would today if her mother were to evoke similar feelings. The dialogue that ensued was very different, however, similarities in the emotional patterns displayed at T1 and T2 were apparent. Facial expressions, diverting eye contact, and quivering voice were a few of the clues that onlooking DLG members cited as being indicative of emotional responses observed in the two role-plays.

The facilitators offered this sociodrama as a case in which cognitive beliefs had been changed—as heard in the actor's language. However, her emotional responses were still governed by the patterns learned in the family of origin. Our protagonist was surprised to realize that despite her new beliefs and understandings, aspects of her emotional repertoire had remained unchanged:

I'm no longer afraid that the things that happened to me as a kid are going to continue now in my adult life. I've come to understand that as a kid I had no choice but to remain a part of my family's system of beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns. Now I'm making my own choices about who I am, what I believe, and what I do. I don't think I realized, though, how I can still respond *emotionally* in ways like I did in the past. This exercise has made me aware of how I still *feel* like I did as a kid sometimes, even though I *know* better now. This is a little frightening.

To the sociological practitioner this experience supports the tenets of psychology and social psychology, which suggest that interactions with primary caregivers in childhood give rise to enduring relational and emotional patterns. It also supports the premise of emotion theory that emotion and cognition are "fused" (Franks 1989) and as such self-

transformation rests on the degree to which cognitive and emotional patterns are altered—in both their linguistic practices and moral judgments. The DLG facilitators assisted the group in recognizing that although our protagonist was able to present herself more effectively “linguistically” at T2 (evidence of change in cognition), she maintained the moral judgement (as sourced in her more deeply rooted emotional profile) of the situation that she had at T1: mother *should* have handled it better.

In varying degrees, each participant got in touch with identity-defining episodes from their past and the associated emotions that they were still harboring. Borrowing from the emotion theory posited by Harré, one could suggest that emotional resocialization was initiated through the role-play by enabling participants to assess (1) their linguistic practices in a problematic social encounter and (2) the moral judgments affixed to those practices—the two elements believed to define the emotional quality of human encounters (Harré 1986, p. 5). This particular DLG demonstrated how the DLG model can be enriched beyond its focus on intellectual and emotional learning of members. The DLG can also play a major role in facilitating emotional resocialization by focusing on beliefs, emotions and one’s beliefs *about* emotions—the point from which emotional resocialization efforts essentially begin.

Conclusions

In the course of this one-day workshop, the DLG model demonstrated effectiveness in creating (1) an atmosphere that invites affirmation of members’ intellectual learning (i.e.: incorporation of new beliefs) through narrative accounts of their “reconstructed” self; (2) the opportunity for members to process feelings associated with negative remembrances of the past in the present moment (as evidenced in the Ghosts of Childhood exercise); and (3) a clearing for further self-transformation through an appreciation of emotional resocialization and its effects on interpersonal relating (as evidenced by the Spirits of Adulthood role-play).

While having obvious benefits for many different types of groups, the DLG is particularly useful to groups that wish to process memories, feelings, experiences, emotional responses and changing life-stories in a supportive yet structured setting. As demonstrated in this case, the DLG incorporates the cognitive, affectual, and ethical domains that together foster human maturation. It was proposed that the DLG model

incorporate approaches being developed in the Sociology of Emotions literature—specifically those which focus on the resocialization of emotions—to strengthen its theoretical base.

More research is necessary to understand the complexities of self- and world view transformation when influenced by theory or a belief system as espoused by a specific community like ACOA. Further study is also warranted relative to how people alter their basic emotional profile to sustain behaviors consistent with their new beliefs. The DLG model provides a setting in which the sociological practitioner can (a) assist people in pursuing further growth and development while (b) extending the theoretical foundation for a “social psychology of self” (Franks 1988) through the study of social construction and reconstruction of self and its relation to the sociology of emotions.

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Mitigation Evaluation: Preparation for a Death Penalty Trial

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to begin to sociologically define a legal standard for the courts of mitigating factors that should influence the sentence of death. The article also describes a method of inquiry that makes this definition reasonable. The material presented is intended to serve as a guide for the investigation of mitigating circumstances for the sentencing phase of a death penalty trial. This paper outlines a method of historical investigation that has proven effective in development of evidence at the sentencing phase of the trial. It is useful both as a foundation for expert sociological testimony, as well as providing a firm foundation for experts in other disciplines.

Mitigation Investigation

I worked for a group of attorneys who specialized in death penalty appeals, and it was my task to provide what they termed “The mitigation.” For me, a sociologist, the product was an in-depth case study of their client which began as far back as I could obtain data and incorporated as much information as I could gather about that individual and his family. The focus of my work is the violence *experienced by the client* in the course of his life, not that which he was convicted of committing. Subsequent sociological expert testimony is available, but the main thrust of the effort is simply the collection of data utilizing sociological methodology.

A death penalty trial is like no other. Guilt and sentencing issues are heard in separate phases of the trial by the same jury. My role prior to assisting with the appeals on Death Row was to assist attorneys at trial level in preparing for the sentencing phase of the trial. At the level of appeal, I have found that many condemned men were not provided even basic mitigation evaluations, and their juries were denied relevant information at the time of their verdict. Literally, the juries had no choice in many cases but death. The defense had simply not produced the mitigation evidence.

To obtain a death sentence, a jury is asked to weigh the aggravating factors of the murder against the mitigating factors. If the aggravating factors weigh more, the sentence is death. If the mitigating factors outweigh the aggravating ones, the sentence is life. Many juries have been faced with the prospect of deciding death knowing nothing about the men who face them. These cases, many years later, are overturned and some men face new sentencing hearings after spending years on Death Row.

A common error of defense attorneys is placing too much attention on the guilt phase of a death penalty trial, and neglecting adequate preparation for the sentencing phase. The fact that some men have been sitting on Death Row in excess of ten years and that I will be the first to systematically explore their social history is unthinkable, but it happens. In fact, the longer someone has been on the Row, the more likely it is that no mitigation at all was presented in the original trial.

Mitigation is defined as any facet of an individual or characteristic of a crime that would lessen the individual's culpability. There is an obligation to present to the jury the entirety of an individual's life in any instance when they will be asked to consider the death penalty (Blum 1985). Unfortunately, it rarely happens.

There is no limit to what a jury can consider as mitigation in a capital murder trial. Statutory mitigation factors include: the defendant has no significant history of prior criminal activity; the murder was committed while the defendant was under the influence of extreme mental or emotional disturbance; the victim was a participant in the defendant's conduct or consented to the act; the murder was committed under circumstances which the defendant reasonably believed to provide a moral justification for the defendant's conduct; the defendant was an accomplice in the murder committed by another person and the defendant's participation was relatively minor; the defendant acted under extreme duress or under the substantial domination of another person; the youth

or advanced age of the defendant at the time of the crime; the capacity of the defendant to appreciate the wrongfulness of the defendant's conduct or to conform the defendant's conduct to the requirements of the law was substantially impaired as a result of mental disease or defect or intoxication which was insufficient to establish a defense to the crime but which substantially affected the defendant's judgement. Non-statutory mitigating factors are any other mitigating factors which are raised by the evidence produced by either the prosecution or defense at either the guilt or sentencing hearing (Forsyth 1995).

Method

The method that I utilize for mitigation investigation involves the development of a case study employing historical analysis to reconstruct an individual life history. Initially, all existing records are reviewed and a time line of all major life events is developed, as well as a list of potential witnesses. A preliminary interview takes place with the defendant which elaborates the time line and identifies additional witnesses. It is important to note that guilt witnesses and mitigation witnesses are often the same people. The content of their contribution to a mitigation study, however, is very different than what might be useful in the guilt phase.

Release of information forms are signed for all schools, hospitals, jobs, social services, correctional and law enforcement agencies identified in the social history. Additional releases are obtained from significant family members for purposes of substantiation.

An ongoing and involved relationship with the defendant is recommended. In addition, one or more contacts in the community to be investigated must be identified to facilitate the investigation. The initial interview should educate the defendant on the nature of the investigation and develop the investigative instruments. The instruments, the time line and list of witnesses, are organic documents which are elaborated throughout the investigation. Data collection from interviews and records ultimately provides the attorney with direction in securing witnesses and identifying mitigation factors for trial.

Clarification and substantiation is provided by a practice of historical analysis which requires verification of significant events or issues by independent sources. Four principal sources of information are explored including: primary relationships; secondary relationships; historical documents; and scholarly research. Verification of an event or concept by at least three of these independent sources is necessary prior to acceptance at this level of analysis.

Primary relationships generally refer to family members and friends of the defendant. Secondary relationships include representatives from institutions outside the family, such as teachers, counselors, landlords, probation officers, or judges. If contact is infrequent or strained within the family, the appropriate classification is secondary. If the defendant is in close contact with these individuals, effort should be made to verify by other sources. These individuals will often provide information in an informal interview which they are unwilling to provide in court. Historical documents include written records obtained from a variety of sources, including newspapers, court transcripts, lawyer's notes, psychological evaluations, and school records. Effort should be made to gather any and all documentation that exists. If not yet ordered, the mitigation specialist should encourage psychological testing that seeks evidence of learning disabilities, attention/deficit disorders, as well as the diagnosis of a mental disorder. Finally, scholarly research is utilized which identifies characteristics which are correlated with a variety of mitigating factors, such as child or institutional abuse. As a source of verification, this research increases both the reliability and validity of the investigator's observations and provides the basis for expert testimony.

Steps of the Investigation

Step One: Review the historical documents and create the time line. This will produce a time line of major events in the client's life that is substantiated by only historical documents, the firmest data in the analysis.

Step Two: Review previous interview data from attorney file and add it to the time line. This will produce the initial witness list, as well as fill in some gaps on the time line. These data are less reliable, but are extremely useful for purposes of substantiation and clarification. Methods of sorting data are flexible and should be designed for each case around preliminary mitigation themes.

Step Three: Interview defendant. A time line is generated with events and dates only. The narrative produced from historical preliminary interviews is blocked, and time line entries are elaborated by the defendant in this interview. Recollections of events and memories further expand the witness list.

Step Four: Repeat step three with significant family or community informants.

Step Five: Conduct interviews from witness list. The defense team establishes mitigation themes which are used to direct interviews, all of

which are open-ended. Follow-up is necessary for most informants making major contributions to the mitigation argument.

Step Six: Cement themes and substantiate utilizing at least three of the four types of data: primary relationship, secondary relationship, historical document, or scholarly research. These sources correspond to the triangulation method utilized in legal arenas. Obviously, the first three make the most convincing testimony if available. If not, expert testimony based on the research is available. Expert testimony, however, is best used as a supplement for actual witnesses in a courtroom, instead of a substitution or replacement.

Tools of the Investigation

Although most cases can be managed on word processors, it is strongly recommended that data be managed with a data base application. (I use an application from Alpha Four.) Three organic reports are generated throughout the investigation: the time line, the witness list, and the inventory of documents. These reports begin with the first interview and are expanded as information is provided by additional sources.

The first report, the time line, is a simple chronology of the individual's complete life history. It includes all interview data, as well as that which has been obtained from the document search. Initial time lines are useful interviewing tools, and are subsequently used to inform experts on a case in an efficient manner. For most cases, the time line includes family history prior to the birth of the client, and moves to the present time. This tool is very useful for the attorney, and citations should be accurate and complete.

In addition to the time line, two other documents are useful in the management of a mitigation investigation. Mitigation witness lists are needed for the substantiation process, as well as for determining the utility of a witness in court. A mitigation witness list will typically include between 200 to 300 names of people who are potential informants to the study. Of these, as many as 50 may be located and interviewed.

Finally, it is important to maintain a numbered inventory of documents. These numbers should be used for citation in the chronology of events. It is important that an attorney be able to quickly identify supporting documentation during case preparation, and especially at the time of trial.

Mitigation Themes

Some mitigation themes are identified early in an investigation. Clearly, these should be noted and used to direct the investigation. Final identification of themes, however, should occur at the end of the investigation. These themes will assist the defense team in identifying other experts who will be necessary to explain the significance of certain life events on individual behavior.

Although each case is different, five general themes should be examined in every case.

These themes are listed below with some examples of specific mitigating factors. This list is far from exhaustive, but is included to suggest potentially fruitful directions of inquiry.

Family Abuse: Intra-family abuse is typically a strong component of every death row defendant. It does not, however, make a convincing mitigation argument when used alone. The primary function is the identification of a place to begin the investigation. More significant will be the social components of the family background, such as poverty, unemployment, social isolation, racism, and other chronic stressors (Bolton and Bolton 1987).

Community Response: Neighbors and community members are useful informants for both the violence that occurred within the family, as well as that which occurred to the family. Themes of exclusion should be noted. Often community members were aware of the early victimization of these people, and of the difficulties experienced by their families (White, Padina, and LaGrange 1987).

Institutional Indifference: In some cases, this category becomes institutional violence. Many of these men were beaten as children in elementary schools by principals and teachers. Nearly all of them will remember public humiliation at the hands of authority figures. Oftentimes long histories will be identified in medical records, Child and Family Services reports, or parole or probation records that indicate that the social institutions these men encountered were negligent in their responsibilities (Blum 1985).

Cognitive/Emotional Disorder: Some have been diagnosed prior to their investigation, and some have not. Most will have individual irregularities that will require psychological evaluation. Examples include learning diagnosis, fetal alcohol syndrome, head injuries, family history of mental illness, exposure to toxic substance, drug and alcohol dependencies, untreated mental illness. Ironically, a mitigation investi-

gation gives some defendants their first insight into the nature of their behavior (Stebbins 1988).

Perceptions of Society: Many times, psychological evaluation that is not based on a complete social history will diagnose the defendant as having an anti-social personality disorder. If unquestioned, this diagnosis is considered legally "fatal." It is essential that sociological testimony be available to attorneys to assist them in explaining the perceptions of society and culture that develop over the life course as needs are systematically unmet by conventional sources (Sampson and Laub 1993). A "stake in conformity" is learned through experiences with the social world that reward conformity and punish deviance. This is clearly not the social world of many of death penalty defendants. In my experience, Hirschi's Social Bonding Theory (1969) has repeatedly proven effective in describing and explaining the failure of an individual to conform.

Each case, of course, is unique, and consequently the mitigation themes vary. It is recommended that discussion between all members of a defense team facilitate the identification of the mitigation themes that will be substantiated by lay and expert testimony.

The following section includes some analysis by themes directed by Social Bonding Theory.

MITIGATION THEME: Abusive Home

Characteristics of the defendant's life which are substantiated by the data include: low family SES; family disruption; parental substance abuse; paternal abandonment; severe and chronic child abuse; prenatal abuse; parental spousal abuse. The defendant's parents are relatively low functioning and suffer from emotional disturbance. His mother and stepfather have long arrest records. Sexual abuse is prevalent in the extended family, but has not been substantiated for the defendant.

Early behavioral problems were noticed by extended family members, but no intervention was attempted. Parental alcoholism and low educational achievement would have inhibited early recognition of a possible organic origin. Between the ages of 1-7, the family moved frequently and family composition was inconsistent. Extended family, however, remained within close proximity and may have provided some affection and stability to the client, as well as some protection against violence. When the family moved to another state, the escalation of

violence within this family system was exacerbated by social isolation, unemployment, alcoholism, poverty, and legal difficulties.

TYPE: Historical Document	SOURCE: Dept. Human Resources Charity Hospital Sheriff's Department
TYPE: Primary Relationship	SOURCE: Mother Stepfather Uncle's wife Uncle Half brother Stepsister Grandmother Mother's friend Grandfather Aunt Family friend
TYPE: Secondary Relationship	SOURCE: Current CPS Worker Biological fat Past CPS Worker

MITIGATION THEME: Cognitive-Emotional Disorder

The defendant was classified as learning disabled when he first entered fifth grade. Although learning difficulties were evidenced in first grade, intervention was not attempted until later. This may have been the result of frequent moves in early years to flee violence. The defendant was regularly sent to live with extended family members out of state when the injuries he suffered were to the extent that his parents feared prosecution if detected. Once his learning disability was diagnosed, marked improvement was noted in grades, but not in academic achievement.

At least two teachers and one vice-principal noted severe behavioral difficulties emerging in the fifth grade. It was noted that the rural school district had limited resources for special education students and, consequently, they did not certify the defendant as behaviorally disturbed, despite the fact that he would have met the criteria. Services were not provided through the school system or through the local community mental health system. At one point the family was court-ordered to counseling.

They did not attend and no follow-up was attempted by the court. The defendant perceived his parents to be empowered by the court.

TYPE: Historical Document	SOURCE: Metro School District 1963 Psychological Eval. 1972 Psychological Eval. 13th School District Dept. of Human Services
TYPE: Primary Relationship	SOURCE: Cousin Brother Friend Aunt
TYPE: Secondary Relationship	SOURCE: Employer HS-Teacher JH High Vice Principal JH Teacher HS Teacher EL Principal HS Counselor CPS Supervisor EL Principal Juvenile Court Judge Juvenile Probation Officer

MITIGATION THEME: Community Response

By the time the defendant reached school age, the bruises and injuries produced by frequent beatings from his stepfather became problematic to the family. Extended family members became involved in elaborate plans to hide the abuse from authorities. Both parents were guilty of emotional and physical abuse, but the stepfather was most culpable of physical abuse and thus was most vulnerable to arrest. His mother actively protected her husband. Neighbors also knew of the injuries, and police were frequently called to manage conflicts in the home.

When too bruised to attend school, the defendant was frequently sent to live with relatives in another state. There is evidence that this abuse was known to authorities by age 8, but historical documents have not been forthcoming from expected sources. Official informants from this time period have not cooperated with the investigation. The defendant himself disclosed the abuse at age 15, but was again sent to relatives. Services were not provided to the family who had younger siblings, and the defendant returned soon after, reportedly to protect his mother and younger siblings. His mother began to utilize the services of the domestic violence shelter, but without sincerity. Neighbors, teachers, CPS workers, and police were all aware of the level of violence within the family. No one intervened.

TYPE: Historical Document	SOURCE: Charity Police Reports School Reports CPS Records
TYPE: Primary Relationship	SOURCE: Step-Grandfather Aunt Uncle Cousin Family Friend Family Friend Family Friend Neighbor Ex-neighbor Neighbor Friend Friend Neighbor Family Friend Friend
TYPE: Secondary Relationship	SOURCE: Employer Employer Co-worker Ex-girl friend Minister

MITIGATION THEME: Institutional Indifference

By age 15, the defendant's mother began using the newly developed services for victims of domestic violence. She and her children were frequent residents of the shelter, stayed short periods of time, and returned to the stepfather's home each time. The children were transferred to new schools after each visit, but records do not document these moves accurately. The defendant's mother has been described as a classic example of a battered wife who repeatedly returned to her abuser and discounted the needs of her children. She was not the target of most of the violence. She allegedly left to protect the defendant.

Intervention efforts by Child Protective Services were inappropriate. The defendant himself reported the abuse. Workers indicate that the process was inhibited by the intensity of the mother's influence of the defendant. Both the mother and stepfather now receive disability payments for emotional disease, but no assistance was available at the time. At 17, the defendant was taken to a boarding house by his stepfather. No intervention was attempted, although many individuals who knew were legally responsible to report. Consequently, the defendant was denied social and financial entitlement, and placed into an adult role despite low academic attainment, minimal resources, and limited social skills.

TYPE: Historical Documents	SOURCE: Women's Shelter Indigent Shelter AFDC Records
TYPE: Primary Relationship	SOURCE: Mother Stepfather Half Brother Sister Neighbor Grandmother Family Friend Family Friend Co-Worker Cousin Friend
TYPE: Secondary Relationship	SOURCE: Shelter Director Shelter Worker Shelter Children's

Worker
 Indigent Shelter
 Worker
 Deputy
 Police officer
 Past CPS Worker
 JH Teacher
 HS Attendance
 Worker
 Principal
 HS Nurse

MITIGATION THEME: Perceptual Distortion

From familial, educational, community and social control agents, a belief system was developed by the defendant which was characterized by beliefs favoring criminality. His parents introduced theft as a means of survival, and presented themselves as belonging to a class of individuals who were not protected by societal norms and values. The defendant's early experiences with agents of social control who did not enforce the law in his behalf reinforced his belief at critical transitional periods. Within the family, his needs were not met and his acts of theft were not sanctioned. No internal controls are evidenced in the family dynamics.

The defendant does not appear to have the ability to align his values with conventional society as a direct result of its failure to protect him. Repeatedly, those socially empowered to intervene normalized and legitimized his victimization. Exacerbated by limited cognitive ability, familial abandonment, and low self-esteem, the defendant sought identity and material well-being through the opportunities available to him. Consistent with his early socialization, he reacted at the moment of the crime to fear with obedience.

TYPE: Historical Documents

TYPE: Primary Relationship

SOURCE: Stepfather
 Uncle
 Co-defendant
 Girl friend
 Uncle

TYPE: Secondary Relationship

SOURCE: Minister's Wife
 Employer

TYPE: Scholarly Research SOURCE: Shelter Worker
See References

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The following affidavit is a sample prepared for attorneys who request funds from the court for mitigation investigations.

AFFIDAVIT OF ANN CHARVAT, Ph.D.

STATE OF TENNESSEE)
COUNTY OF DAVIDSON)

Comes the affiant, Ann Charvat, Ph.D., and affirms under oath the following which is true to the best of my knowledge, information, and belief:

1. I received a Bachelor of Science degree in psychology, sociology, and education from Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois, 1974; a Master of Education degree in counseling from Oregon State University, 1978; and a Doctor of Philosophy degree in sociology from Southern Illinois University, 1989. I have been employed for 16 years as a teacher, counselor, and social worker specializing in family, youth, and special needs populations. I am currently certified as a clinical sociologist by the Sociological Practice Association, and am in private practice as a mitigation specialist specializing in capital cases. I have over six years experience in this field.
2. Upon completing my post-graduate education in 1989, I have worked as a professional, with my major area of concentra-

tion being criminology. Between May 1989 and April 1994, I was in private practice as a mitigation specialist in capital cases throughout Kentucky and Tennessee. These cases include: *State of Tennessee v. Darrell Hines* (1989); *State of Tennessee v. Elmer Carl Garton* (1989); *State of Tennessee v. Kenneth Tubbs* (1989); *State of Tennessee v. Henry E. Hodges* (1991); *State of Tennessee v. Gary Collins* (1991); *State of Tennessee v. Michael King* (1992); *Commonwealth of Kentucky v. Mark Daniels* (1993); *State of Tennessee v. Jerry Mathis* (1993); *Commonwealth of Kentucky v. John Martinez* (1993); *State of Tennessee v. Steven Lewis* (1993); *State of Tennessee v. Walter Smothers* (1994); *State of Tennessee v. James Spann* (1994). From April, 1994 until June, 1995, I was employed by the Capital Case Resource Center of Tennessee and provided investigation and consultation on the following cases: *State of Tennessee v. Robert Campbell* (1994); *State of Tennessee v. William Tollett* (1995); *State of Tennessee v. Jon Hall* (1995); *State of Tennessee v. Victor Cazes*; *State of Tennessee v. Darrel Taylor*; *State of Tennessee v. Donald Middlebrooks*; *State of Tennessee v. Timothy Morris*; *State of Tennessee v. Gary Caughron*; *State of Tennessee v. Edward Leroy Harris*; *State of Tennessee v. Ricky Thompson*; *State of Tennessee v. Gaile Owens*; *State of Tennessee v. Jeffery Dicks*; *State of Tennessee v. Byron Black*; *State of Tennessee v. Heck Van Tran*; *State of Tennessee v. Randy Hurley*; *State of Tennessee v. Terry Barber*; *State of Tennessee v. Sylvester Smith*. The purpose of my social history and mitigation investigations has been to locate mitigating evidence to be presented at the sentencing phase of trial. I have provided assessment of mitigation on a number of these cases.

3. Additionally, in my work with criminal defense attorneys, I have been called upon to use my expertise to recommend specific types of expert services that would be necessary to assist attorneys in presenting mitigation evidence at both the trial and post-conviction levels.
4. As a mitigation specialist, I have also researched the relationship between an individual's social background and violent behavior. Additionally, I have addressed the Annual Meetings of the Academy of Criminal Justice, the Society

for Applied Sociology, the American Criminological Society, and the Sociological Practice Association about proper technique for mitigation investigation in capital cases. I received my certification as a Clinical Sociologist in 1994. My resume is attached as Exhibit A.

5. When conducting a mitigation investigation, it is necessary to not only collect all of the documents from all official agencies that have had contact with a client, it is necessary to compile a detailed and complete social history of the client. The statutory and non-statutory mitigating factors that require investigation include but are not limited to: physical, sexual, and/or psychological abuse and neglect in early childhood; inappropriate institutional response; ineffective juvenile intervention; brain damage; head injury; mental illness; institutional violence; learning disability; past legal history; the developmental effects of familial transience and parental abandonment; drug and alcohol abuse and family history; and the social, psychological and emotional climate surrounding this offense.
6. Adequate preparation for a capital case includes but is not limited to securing the following types of information to substantiate mitigating factors in a client's life: information regarding birth and early childhood development; the composition of the family unit, including background information of birth parents (date and place of birth, educational attainment, health history, date of marriage, age at time of marriage), age and sex of siblings, prior marriages and children of parents; early health of client, including whether he suffered any serious accidents, illnesses or injuries; residential history of the family, including where they lived, for what periods of time, and under what conditions; employment history of the parents; educational history, including date at which the client entered school, schools attended, performance and behavior, any special services provided, level attained, activities in which the client may have participated, favorite subjects, and names of teachers; religious training, practices and beliefs; discipline in the home, including form of discipline, how administered, by whom, and for what; family relationships, including the nature and quality of the client's relationship with each parent, siblings,

and other relatives, and the relationship between the parents; friends and leisure activities; other significant relationships; community activities; jobs held as a youth, including lawn work, newspaper route, babysitting, or other odd jobs; any significant childhood experiences, including death or serious injury of a family member or other significant person, divorce of parents, abandonment by parent, family violence, parental alcohol or drug use, or abuse of the client, including physical, sexual or emotional abuse; history of any alcohol or drug use; history of running away; and juvenile record. In addition, the client must be interviewed on how he perceived of himself as a child, in terms of personality, behavior, feelings, responses to various events in life, and relationships with others. Additionally, all phases of the client's adult life including the events leading up to and surrounding the crime must be thoroughly investigated.

7. Given my expertise in conducting mitigation investigations, Thomas Gunther, counsel for David Sampson, requested that I conduct a mitigation assessment of Mr. Sampson in order to provide an adequate foundation for expert opinion. I previously conducted assessments of this nature while salaried by the Capital Case Resource Center of Tennessee. On May 31, 1995, my position lost its funding due to state budget cuts. Given that I am currently unsalaried, Mr. Gunther requested that I prepare an estimate of the expense necessary to conduct this assessment.
8. A mitigation assessment involves the following: review of the sentencing phase transcript and portions of the guilt phase transcript that relates to mental health and family issues; review of any documents that are available to the attorney; review of trial attorney and District Attorney's file. From these records, I develop an initial client time line and witness list. Informed with this background material, I conduct a minimal number of interviews with the client and a family member or close friend to establish movement within the life course prior to incarceration, and names and locations of potential mitigation witnesses. Missing sources of documentation are identified by this process, and records are requested.

Specifically, my cursory review of the materials provided by Mr. Gunther reveal inadequate documentation in medi-

cal records, elementary school records, and corrections records. Many details of Mr. Sampson's life are unknown to me at this date. Given my experience with other capital cases, however, I would anticipate additional sources of information will be identified through the assessment process.

9. Based on my experience in past capital cases, I have recommended to Mr. Gunther that he seek the funding for the mitigation assessment of David Sampson. Such assessments have typically required 40 to 60 hours. It is imperative that document searches and client interviewing be conducted by a mitigation specialist, in that the skills necessary for these tasks are specialized. My usual rate of pay is \$100 an hour. I would be willing to provide this service to the court at a rate of \$50 an hour. Thus the total cost of the assessment would be between \$2000 and \$3000. Note that this quote includes assessment only. Additional investigation necessary for substantiation is not included in this estimate.

FURTHER THE AFFIANT SAITH NOT.

Dated: 6/15/1995

ANN CHARVAT, Ph.D

Sworn to me and subscribed before me on this the 15th day of June, 1995.

NOTARY PUBLIC

My commission expires:

Mediating Conflicting Constructions of Childhood Sexual Experience: A Case Study

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ABSTRACT

This paper describes a case study involving two primary school age children and their sexual experience together. The young girl interpreted the experience as abuse, and the young boy defined the experience as exploration. The cultural, environmental and structural factors which may have contributed to this difference of interpretation are presented. The author discusses the criterion used to distinguish between sexual exploration and sexual abuse between two children and addresses the difficulty in applying these standards to the normal sexual behavior of children. A case study is presented using the constructionist paradigm to mediate the conflicting interpretation of events, so that both definitions of the situation are recognized as authentic. The case study presents a situation where it may be in the best interest of all involved to validate both childrens' perceptions of reality. Finally, the author concludes with a detailed discussion of the mediation methods used to resolve the intractable conflict and the ethical issues raised by their use.

Introduction

A growing recognition of child-to-child and adolescent-to-child sexual abuse has increased the need to understand normal sexual behavior between children. Unfortunately, research in the area of childhood sexual

play is not sufficient for us to easily make that distinction (Lamb and Coakle 1993). This paper describes an attempt to distinguish between abuse and exploration between children, and explores the consequences of the current dichotomous system of classification. I use the social constructionist paradigm to describe the differences in the childrens' construction of their sexual experience. I begin by relating the criterion used to distinguish childhood sexual exploration from sexual abuse between children to the case at hand. I will discuss some of the cultural factors which contribute to the different interpretation of childhood sexual events. I will then describe the consequences of the adversarial structure of our criminal justice system. Finally, I review the methods I used to mediate the two conflicting constructions of this sexual interaction between the two children.

The social constructionist paradigm helps us understand the process by which the children "make meaning" of their sexual experience (Berger and Luckman 1973; Lincoln and Guba 1990). If reality is no longer considered to be an objective entity called "truth," but rather is seen as subjectively and "socially constructed," it becomes possible for us to entertain more than one "truth" for each reality. This is especially important for sexual behavior because "sexuality never means one thing once and for all. As children mature they redefine their past experiences in terms of their new knowledge. Interpreting children's sexual experience through adult meanings is a gross error" (Plummer 1991, p. 237).

The developmental perspective is most frequently used to evaluate children's sexual behavior and to distinguish between exploration and abuse (Sgroi, Bunk and Wabrek 1988; Bukowski, Sippola and Brender 1993). This perspective asks the question, is the sexual behavior displayed developmentally appropriate for the child? In this case, the children were both approximately primary school age (usually 6-10 years old). The sexual behaviors that are developmentally appropriate for children of this age group include touching oneself, looking at others, and creating opportunities to touch others, primarily their peers. We would NOT expect a child of this age group to engage in open mouth kissing or simulated intercourse (Yates 1978). This sexual touching is usually placed within the context of a game or "pretend" situation (playing doctor, playing house, etc.). Goldman and Goldman (1988) reported that nearly two-thirds of children report some sort of sexual experience with peers prior to the age of twelve. Thus it seems many children share sexual experiences in a non-problematic way. One study found that eighty-five percent of the women in the sample reported a childhood game experience (Lamb and Coakley 1993).

Another feature of primary school age children's sexual activity is secrecy. Even by the age of two or three, most children learn that masturbating in front of others is likely to get them into trouble. "In other words, the primary school child is likely to take for granted that secrecy and privacy are required to avoid detection and reproof or punishment" (Sgroi 1988, p.4). On the other hand, secrecy is also listed as a feature of sexual abuse. If an individual uses threats or force to secure a promise of secrecy, clearly this is beyond the level of secrecy deemed "normal."

A third factor to consider when distinguishing abuse from exploration is the relative power held by the participants. An older sibling, or a young adolescent who has been left in charge of younger children has considerable authority and their requests can be interpreted as demands. The best way to determine the level of power of the participants is to examine what statuses they occupied at the time of the incident, and the emotional intensity of the relationship between them. When the two children involved are siblings, it is a combination of the status relationships (both are children, but one sibling is older) and the emotional relationships within the family which help distinguish exploration from abuse. In relationships of greater social distance (class mates, neighborhood friend), the greater the status difference, the greater the likelihood of abuse.

Cultural/Structural Factors

American culture is satiated with sexuality. Our children are raised in an environment filled with sexual messages and images. Yet, even as we implicitly tell children how important sex is in our society, we discourage, even negatively sanction sexual exploration by and between children (Jackson 1982; Yates 1978). Some parents react more strongly than others, but it is considered unusual, perhaps even pathological, NOT to try to limit sexual exploration between children. The cultural sanctions received by a child who is caught exposing their genitals to another child are not a matter of law, but rather are dependent upon the individual who first learns of the behavior or activity (Finkelhor 1979, p. 65). The meaning a parent or other significant adult figure attaches to the sexual experience is shared with the child and they develop feelings based upon the interpretation of the event.

There are a wide variety of reasons why 'Jane' has interpreted her sexual experience with 'Jack' in a negative way, and why Jack inter-

preted his experience in a positive way. Culture furnishes the child with scripts which define and explain sexuality (Gagon and Simon 1984). Boys are socialized to talk about sex at a much younger age. "Prepubescent girls, unlike boys, are not inclined to discuss or joke about sexual matters. Also, the girl eavesdropping on conversation by adult females is less apt to hear of these matters than is the boy listening to adult males" (Elias and Gebhard 1973, p. 41). Additionally, the main source of sex education for boys is the peer group, that is, friends and classmates. Again, because girls are not as likely to discuss sex, they are less likely to be able to interpret the experience and place it within the context of normal development. Another important contributor to the likelihood that young girls will interpret sexual exploration differently than young boys, is gender role socialization and the double standard (Richardson 1988). Boys are expected to explore their sexuality and are generally rewarded in their peer group for their "achievements" in this area. Girls are sanctioned by their peers if they report their sexual exploration because there is no cultural model for feminine sexual development. Girls are also more severely sanctioned by adults for their sexual behavior. The masculine and feminine ideals may also play a part in shaping the events in this case. "Boys are encouraged to see themselves as the active pursuer of sex, and are more prone to organize sexuality around their own satisfaction. For girls, sexuality is much more a matter of something that another defines and is done to them" (Plummer 1991, pp. 241-242). Of the women in Lamb and Coakley's study who reported childhood sexual game experience, 44% described cross-gender play that involved persuasion, manipulation or coercion.

We cannot underestimate the importance of the adversarial nature of our criminal justice system, which assumes that victims and offenders are easily identified as one or the other. Others have commented upon the artificial dichotomy between victims and offenders and whose interests are served by this illusion (Quinney 1974; Simonson 1994). When we as a society decide to settle a certain type of dispute (sexual abuse) in the criminal courts, we subject that conflict to the limitations of the criminal justice system. Most importantly, it limits the ways we may interpret the conflict. In this case, it is the division of truth into fact and fiction that determines the victim and the offender. The social constructionist paradigm is far more useful in dealing with childhood sexual experience than is the adversarial criminal justice system.

Clinical Sociology

This case was presented to me in 1992, while I was the victim/witness advocate for a small rural county in North Dakota. I was called to the police station, where an eleven year old girl and her mother were waiting for me. The mother explained that her daughter (Jane) recently reported that when she was six years old, she was molested by an eleven year old boy (Jack, who is now 15 or 16). They were both in the same summer day care setting, and apparently they spent a great deal of time in the tree house together. On several occasions he asked her to show him her "private parts," and he would then show her his. It was unclear if touching had occurred, but no penetration or other sexual acts were reported. No force was used, however, on one occasion he did have another child "watch out" for the adult caretaker who was in the house. The young girl said she knew at the time that what they were doing was "bad" and that she has felt "dirty" ever since that summer.

The mother was quite upset and confided that she was an incest survivor. She said she felt a sense of failure because she was unable to protect her child from the same trauma she experienced as a child. She reported that her family of origin was still not on speaking terms since her own disclosure of sexual abuse ten years ago. The maternal grandfather was allowed supervised visitations with the grandchildren, but both maternal grandparents still mostly shunned the woman who reported the incest and "brought shame upon her family." Jane knew that the reason her mother did not speak to her grandfather was because "he had touched her mama's private parts when she was a little girl."

Matters were further complicated by the social position of the boy's father. The accused boy was the son of a police officer. The mother was sure that if she "pressed charges" the police would try to protect the boy and would be unnecessarily cruel in their treatment of the young girl.

Given these circumstances, her goal was to get the boy into "sex offender treatment" without submitting her daughter to a court proceeding. My role as the victim's advocate was to try and negotiate an outcome acceptable to the identified crime victim and her family. Due to the adversarial nature of our criminal justice system, each actor in the system must fulfill their role rather than strive for justice. The defense attorneys are required to work for the benefit of their clients even if they think or perhaps even know they are guilty. The victim's advocate must work towards the goals or wishes of their client.

The cultural elements were compounded in this case due to Jane's mother's experience with abuse. Because her mother experienced so many negative consequences for telling, Jane may have expected that if she told anyone about her experience, it would significantly alter her relationship with other adults. Jane indicated that she was much more concerned with the reaction of adults to the events than with the consequences of noncompliance; she reported being afraid that "my mom can't take it." The focus of Jane's concern was not her own well-being, but rather the reaction of her mother to her sexual activity. When her mother told about her childhood sexual experiences, the entire family was thrust into chaos from which it has still not recovered. Jane had only one frame of reference in which to place her sexual experience, and that was "sexual abuse." Had she been presented with alternative interpretations of the events, as Jack had been, it is entirely possible that she may not have experienced the sexual events as traumatic.

However, I in no way wish to imply that her pain and suffering are not real or are of her own making. Rather I wish to point out the structural variables which influence social psychological processes of interpretation. Straus (1989) has illustrated the difficulty of conducting research in an area so closely associated with a social movement. Child sexual abuse is a central concern of the Victim's Rights Movement and any discussion of this very sensitive topic must recognize this association. My position as a victim's advocate further explicated the values that were to underlie my mediation efforts. Thus, reactions to my approach to this case have ranged from severe criticism to skeptical appreciation for the novelty of my interpretation and intervention. Let me be absolutely clear—this paper does not attribute innocence or guilt to either party. Rather it details some of the negative consequences of the existing dichotomy between abuse and exploration (exploitation and innocence).

If we assume an event must be abuse or exploration, we can evaluate it using the criteria described earlier in the paper. The sexual behavior in question appears to fall within the range of normal sexual exploration from a developmental perspective, but only if we include both of these children in the primary school age category. Jane is at the bottom of the range and Jack is at the very top of the range. The age differences between the children is five years, the maximum allowed between children during "normal" sexual exploration (Browne and Finkelhor 1986). Ideally, it would be important to interview the children and determine

the extent of their individual sexual development. However, this case came to me five years after the fact, and I could only speculate on this very important element.

Taking into consideration the fact that boys develop sexually at a later age than do girls, and my impressions of their current level of maturity, I felt comfortable placing both of them in the primary school age group at the time of their sexual experience. Although Jack did have another child "look out" for adults, he did not use force or threats to influence Jane to participate in the sexual activity. Jane certainly may have felt pressured and may not have considered any response other than conformity to his wishes. However, I did not believe that an unusual amount of secrecy was involved, considering our societal taboo against children and sexuality (Jackson 1982). The age difference did create some power differential between Jack and Jane. Jack was more experienced and was physically larger than Jane at the time of the events in question and this could have given him considerable authority in her eyes. On the other hand, they both were given the same status at the day care center (child). The status of child is one of subordination to adults, and conformity to others' requests is strongly encouraged. One must ask what Jane thought would be the result of noncompliance to the sexual request. If she believed Jack had the ability to harm her or get her into trouble, then power has played an important role. Jane reported no threats of harm or fear of Jack, and this leads me to think that the relative power status of the two children was acceptably similar.

Clinical sociology is distinguished by its interventions directed at the operational definition of the situation (Straus 1989). We bring a unique perspective to the processing of conflicts by taking into account the multiple interacting layers of social participation which frame human conflicts and their resolution. Conflict resolution strategies can be thought of as existing on a continuum ranging from avoidance to annihilation, with a wide variety of strategies falling between the two extremes (Volpe and Maida 1992:14). These strategies may be employed in either a collaborative or a competitive way. Because the criminal justice system is set up within a competitive framework, this is the standard approach used.

In this case, the best interests of the individuals involved would not have been served by pitting Jane and her family against Jack and the police department. My job was to advocate on behalf of the identified crime victim to the State's Attorney (and or anyone else who has the power to "fix" things for the victim), and to see that all individuals involved received the social or psychological services they needed. My

primary objective was to return the crime victim to her “pre-crime status.” In this case that meant finding a therapy program or counseling center where she would receive services. Although the victims’ assistance program (VAP) is situated within the criminal justice system, many of the interventions on behalf of victims occur outside of that system (Simonson 1994).

As the victim/witness advocate, I had a wide variety of conflict resolution strategies available to use in this case. It was possible to present this case to the State’s Attorney’s office with the hopes that he would agree to prosecute. However, due to the ambiguous nature of the events involved and the ages of the children at the time, it was unlikely that the State’s Attorney would decide to bring this case to trial. By taking this to the prosecutor, I would be providing an opportunity for someone in authority to tell Jane that what happened to her was not important enough for the state to do anything about it. Or, perhaps worse, I would be providing an opportunity for the prosecutor to advance her own agenda at Jane’s expense, and prosecute the case to harass the police department with whom she was feuding.

If this case went to trial, Jane would have to tell a relatively large group of people what happened—something that is never easy. After she has done this very brave thing, the judge was not terribly likely to adjudicate Jack. Perhaps more significant, the fact that Jack’s father was a police officer would generate publicity in spite of the fact that the accused was a juvenile. This publicity would hurt Jane as much as it would hurt Jack. On the other hand, if I did not offer to take this case to the prosecutor, I would be putting the agency in a position to be sued for preferential treatment. Again, the influence of the adversarial nature of the current system cannot be over emphasized. Prosecutors, defense attorney’s and victim’s advocates cannot work cooperatively toward justice, but rather must work for the best deal for our clients.

For a wide variety of reasons, the victim’s family asked to resolve their conflict informally. By approaching this case from a collaborative perspective, I was able to facilitate services for both the “victim” and the “perpetrator” in this case, while preventing the public degradation and labeling that is likely to occur in a court setting. I began by having a long discussion with Jane’s parents about the prosecutorial process and the difficulties we might expect to encounter if we were to prosecute the case. I asked them what they would like to see happen in response to their complaint. Jane was already receiving counseling, and because it was not covered by their insurance, her parents wanted Jack

(or his parents) to pay for the therapy. Jane's mother was adamant that Jack should be sent to a "sex offender treatment program" some forty-five miles away. She believed this was necessary to prevent any future victimization by this boy.

As the victim's advocate I embraced the goal of preventing future victimization. Although I was concerned about labeling this young boy (now 15) a sex offender, my primary obligation was to the victim. This is contrary to the usual "objective" and impartial position taken by mediators (Volpe and Maida 1992). To solve this ethical dilemma, I contacted Jack's parents and suggested they retain an attorney and have her call me. Jack's parents were aware of the allegations and although they did not think what had happened was "sexual abuse," they took the situation very seriously and were concerned about its repercussions for their son. I explained that the attorney and I could possibly mediate an outcome that would be acceptable to everyone involved, without getting formally involved with the criminal justice system.

When Jack's lawyer called me I told her of the wishes of the victim's parents. She of course, refused to subject her client to the consequences of adjudication (sex offender treatment) without the formal adjudication. I had anticipated her objection and had spent a great deal of time explaining this to Jane's parents. After a good deal of discussion, Jane's parents agreed Jack could receive counseling locally, "as long as the counselor knew why he was coming to see them." The therapist was to be informed of the sexual interaction between the children and the contested meaning attributed to the behavior.

Unfortunately, Jane's mother had another demand in exchange for this modification. She wanted to know when Jack was "done" with his therapy. In spite of my best efforts to explain therapist/client confidentiality, she insisted that this was the only way she could be sure he was getting the help he needed. Jack's attorney was understandably concerned that this might encourage a violation of confidentiality. However, Jack's parents were equally concerned with the impact these accusations have had on Jack and his self-image. Rather than risk an adjudication on sexual assault charges and the psychological damages that might cause, they agreed to the informal outcome described below:

1. Jack would see a local counselor of his choice, and that counselor would be made aware, by the attorney, of the nature of the allegations against Jack. He would continue to see this counselor until such time as the therapist decides it was no

longer necessary. At that time, the therapist would call the attorney, who would then call the victim's advocate, who would then inform Jane's mother of the change.

2. Jack's parents would pay for the costs of Jane's therapy for as long as it was necessary.

Summary

Through the use of mediation strategies, the outcome of this case changed from a lose-lose situation to a win-win situation for both the victim and the offender. The victim and her family were pleased that they did not have to suffer through a formal court proceeding, and yet still received reimbursement for the therapy costs. The offender and his family were pleased to avoid a public scandal and the stigmatization that is associated with sexual offender treatment.

This paper used a case example to explain the consequences of the current dichotomous classification of childhood sexual experience, as either abuse or exploration. I showed how the social constructionist paradigm can be helpful when mediating conflicting interpretation of those childhood experiences. Finally, I discussed the mediation methods which allowed my intervention attempt to be successful. This information will be useful to other practicing sociologists or to those working with crime victims and their offenders. This paper contributes to the literature on childhood sexuality, and to our understanding of how cultural and environmental factors can influence the meaning of childhood sexual behavior.

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Clinical Sociology in Service-Learning

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ABSTRACT

Experiences in teaching internship courses illustrate some of the advantages of teaching sociological practice through community service. For example, a course requirement to spend nine hours of each week of a semester in an advocacy group provides a richer variety of opportunities for students to learn about themselves, society, sociological theory, and research methodologies than is possible in conventional lecture-discussion classes. Furthermore, becoming participants in sociological interventions heightens students' awareness of related ethical concerns, as well as of the complexity of social problems, and of how to define viable individual and collective solutions.

Service learning is defined here as supervised community participation which enables students to deepen their experiential and theoretical understanding of themselves and society. Service-learning pedagogies include internships in varied social settings, journal reflections, selected readings, and seminar discussions. More specifically service-learning refers to college and university courses which require students to make community contributions through participating in government or non-government agencies, schools, advocacy groups, special interest organizations, etc., concomitant with completing some traditional academic assignments. From a historical perspective, service-learning in U.S. undergraduate education is a relatively recent venture. Small isolated programs began to appear in the 1960s, and more recently educational groups

have organized service-learning networks and resources which span the entire United States. For example, **Campus Compact: The Project for Public and Community Service** is a coalition of over 470 college and university presidents who are committed to helping students develop the values and skills of civic participation through involvement in public service.

Service-Learning and Sociological Practice

Service-learning can also be thought of as a specific kind of sociological practice: a collaborative venture which aims to bring about community change through clinical sociological theories and sociological methodologies. Service-learning courses give students varied opportunities to apply sociological concepts and theories as individual and community interventions through government agencies, advocacy groups, or special interest organizations. These experiences provide in-depth learning for students, and enrich seminar discussions on substantive issues, sociological practice, and clinical sociology in ways that are not possible in more conventional courses.

One goal in teaching service-learning classes is to ground sociological theory through practice (Glaser and Strauss 1967), thus developing more reliable clinical sociological theories (Glasser and Freedman 1979). Another goal in teaching service-learning classes is to refine sociological methodologies, so that selected techniques can be applied in clinical settings. Having to accomplish specific tasks in varied social contexts creates experiences and generates data for collective review, analyses, and discussion in the classroom. Sociological theories and methodologies make these summations and interpretations possible.

Background Information

The teaching notes in this article report on nine service learning courses which the author offered at Georgetown University during a three year period, 1992-1995. All nine courses were organized along similar lines. The requirements for each student were: (i) to work nine hours in a community internship each week of a thirteen week semester; (ii) to complete limited required reading in preparation for seminar discussions; (iii) to write three short papers on internship experiences and additional individual readings; (iv) to conduct simple on-the-job research; and (v) to write a compre-

hensive reflective essay of approximately ten pages, to describe and explain the substance of internship experiences, readings, and seminar discussions. Completing this course work earned three academic credits. Students were also given an option of earning one extra credit by completing three additional internship hours each week, and by writing three or four additional pages for the reflective essay.

The nine internship seminars given over the three-year period enrolled ten to twenty students in each seminar. An interesting measure and point of comparison is that each time seventeen students participate in an internship seminar, the total number of hours worked by these students in their internships is the equivalent of one person's full-time work for a year.

The registrar's official internship seminar titles were: Community Involvement; Women and Politics; and Intercultural Learning and Teaching. These titles reflect the selected substantive interests and concerns examined through students' internship experiences. Students may repeat both the Community Involvement and Women and Politics seminars, making a total of six to eight credit hours for either Community Involvement or Women and Politics, depending on whether or not a student completes a fourth credit option for one of these courses.

The Intercultural Learning and Teaching seminar was originally part of the Washington, D.C. Higher Education Innovative Projects program, 1993. It was funded by a grant through a D.C. award from the Commission on National and Community Service. The Community Involvement seminar was first taught at Georgetown University in 1971, and has been offered sporadically since then. The Women and Politics seminar was designed for Women's Studies students, as well as for sociology majors and other undergraduates at Georgetown University in 1992. This internship seminar has become a required practicum for Women's Studies majors.

Class Sequence

As soon as students locate their internships, generally with the assistance of directories and personal guidance through the Volunteer and Public Service Center or the Career Center at Georgetown University, they begin to write analytic journals and construct ethnographies of the agencies where they are working. Abstracts from student journal entries, and short descriptions of these ethnographies are presented in class for discussion mid-way through the semester.

The internships in Community Involvement seminars are very varied, and have no thematic focus except a general goal to improve the quality of life for less privileged people. The internships in Women and Politics consist of agencies which focus on women's concerns and issues; and the internships in Intercultural Learning and Teaching include placements in schools, mentoring networks, and other educational facilities.

Required readings in all the internship seminars are discussed in terms of possibilities for social change, as well as individual and social responsibilities. These themes are used to develop sociological theoretical perspectives, and to define sociological principles for organizing clinical data and experiences. For example, social change and individual and social responsibility are viewed from structural-functional, conflict, and cultural theoretical perspectives, in order to increase students' objectivity and awareness in assessing the many different kinds of situations in which they find themselves.

Students are also required to build bibliographies about their internship interests, which become source materials for their final reflective essays. These essays synthesize the substance of internship experiences, readings, and seminar discussions.

Theoretical Base

At the outset of the semester, major sociological theories and paradigms are reviewed, and students are asked to select perspectives which they believe will usefully guide their journal analyses, observations, and interpretations while on the job. Selecting either structural functional theory or conflict theory or cultural theory (which includes symbolic interaction and interpretive sociology) is encouraged, rather than combinations of approaches. The rationale for this pedagogy is a strong belief that students have a more valuable, in-depth learning experience, and develop more of a "feel" for applying sociological theory, if they select one of the classical sociological theoretical paradigms to analyze their internship applications, rather than several. Students too easily become dilettantes when they try to apply eclectic combinations of different paradigms.

Once students choose their theoretical perspectives, they are asked to use them in seminar contributions, and eventually in their reflective essays. Having to struggle with sociological concepts, in face of practical internship challenges, is a central learning component of these service-learning courses.

Research Methods

In order to gather information about the agencies where they work as interns, students have to be able to conduct interviews, ask probe questions and record findings through participant-observation techniques. Historical methodologies also yield in-depth information for sociological analyses of the internship agencies.

Research methods are effective tools to uncover answers to questions raised in theoretical analyses and interpretations of data. For example, class discussions focus on the “fit” of theory and methods, given the everyday realities of students and clients, as well as on the theoretical implications of different research methods. In addition, ethical concerns associated with using sociological research methods are discussed.

Sociological Analyses of Findings

As students are required to use sociological theories and sociological research methods in their assessments of internship experiences, their vested interests and parochial perspectives can be broadened. Furthermore, these expanded world views increase possibilities for more objective analyses of data and experiences. The necessarily experimental service and research aspects of internships give students real-life opportunities to test the viability of sociological concepts and theories, and they are encouraged to use these tools to examine troublesome substantive issues. Questions, rather than formal research hypotheses, focus student inquiries: Is religion an influence which precipitates or impedes social change? To what extent does gender influence the life-chances of those who live in poverty? How does access to resources affect the quality of education given and received? What are the moving forces behind the establishment of goals and priorities in advocacy groups and government agencies?

When students are asked to place microsociological analyses within macrosociological perspectives, they begin to identify the broad gestalt of interpersonal issues. For example, it is insufficient to know the inner workings of a family, as families must also be viewed dynamically in contexts of racial or ethnic communities and social class settings. Students select at least three major concepts, to be applied in assignments throughout the semester, which refer to these different levels of sociological analysis. For example, self, family and social class; dyad, gender and social change; or triad, religion and culture. Ideally these con-

cepts are eventually thought of as integral components of structural functional, conflict, or cultural theoretical perspectives.

Interventions

Combining internship experiences with substantive studies in service learning classes enables students to become aware of their potentials as change agents. Their presence in social agencies is a catalyst for heightening the awareness of their clients and co-workers, thereby modifying individuals' lives and organizational effectiveness in attaining agency goals.

Interventions provide students with opportunities to examine ethical issues involved in interventions, such as assumptions made about and by the helping professions. Seminars are forums for students to outline what they think responsible interventions are, through assessing individual and social consequences of specific change strategies. At all times attention is given to interventions which promote clients' well-being, or which respond to agency and community priorities, rather than to those which merely meet students' needs.

Results

Students who participated in these service-learning courses usually gained a much firmer grasp of sociological theory and sociological research methods than students in traditional lecture courses. Internship experiences, together with sociological frames of reference, provided students with first-hand knowledge of sociological practice and clinical sociology. Students learned how to ground theory in practice, and to refine both theories and methods for more viable everyday applications.

One negative result of service-learning is that sometimes so much is happening in any given internship that it is easy for students to lose the substantive focus of a course, or to get so caught up in descriptions and associations of ideas that analyses are either difficult or impossible. When this occurs, the most constructive learning cannot take place, and students' achievements and perspectives may become truncated or less rooted in the disciplines of sociology and clinical sociology. Consequently some students may gain no more than a nodding acquaintance with sociological frameworks, rather than a lasting understanding of sociological theories and methodologies.

However, overall, the special qualities of service-learning result in students claiming that they remember and use what they learn in internship seminars more readily and more meaningfully than what they learn in traditional classroom settings. Furthermore, students frequently make decisions about graduate school and careers based on their internship experiences, sometimes reversing plans they had made before taking an internship seminar. Because students use their internship experiences to demonstrate their academic and practical accomplishments when applying for jobs, an unanticipated consequence of teaching internship seminars is many requests for letters of recommendation about students' accomplishments in service-learning and sociological practice.

Conclusions

Service-learning provides almost limitless opportunities to develop sociological practice techniques, and to refine clinical sociological theories. The discipline of sociology increases the meaningfulness and effectiveness of analyses and interventions related to both interpersonal and institutional concerns.

Clinical sociology is a valuable preparation for faculty who want to teach service-learning courses, as this new discipline examines functional and dysfunctional consequences of varied levels of social interventions. Faculty and students alike can appreciate more complexities in the influences among individuals, families, communities, social classes, social movements and society by applying concepts and research strategies of sociological practice and clinical sociology. A focus on change, and the consequences of change, is also relatively well-developed in sociological practice and clinical sociology.

Service-learning is therefore a viable context for sociological practice, as well as a means for basic research in clinical sociology. When tools of sociological practice are used in internship classes, the discipline of clinical sociology is advanced and may become a career option for students.

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Lessons Learned from Evaluating a Five-Year Community Partnership Project*

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ABSTRACT

Looking back over a five-year Community Partnership grant, the practicing sociologists who evaluated the project note some important lessons learned from the experience. Problems discussed in this paper include difficulties with the collection of timely baseline data, transition in evaluation teams and its effects on the research design, data collection strategies that produce varied pictures of program effects, problems in using extant data, and other issues in evaluating a community-wide intervention. Recommendations are made to address these issues and a case is made for using qualitative as well as quantitative methods in community evaluation projects.

Practicing sociologists intervene with substance abuse and other community problems in many ways. Sociologists can direct programs that attempt to prevent and treat substance abuse and they can direct programs designed to invigorate a community. In addition, as practitioners, sociologists may be called upon to provide data to project directors to improve the operation of their interventions. As evaluators, soci-

*The author is deeply indebted to two colleagues who are outstanding practicing sociologists and program evaluators: W. David Watts and Mary Lou Bell. Both played significant roles in evaluating this project and in helping to formulate the ideas presented in this paper.

ologists can guide the course of community interventions through needs assessments and process evaluations; they can measure the effects of different community strategies through outcome and impact evaluation; they can describe the rich contextual background of community efforts through qualitative strategies; and they can impact future programming through social policy efforts. Each of these roles is essential to the design and management of successful community interventions.

Community change is the focus of a program within the Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP) at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. CSAP has a cadre of grantees called Community Partnerships that are five-year collaborative efforts. They aim to reduce substance abuse and attenuating problems through community empowerment efforts. More specifically, these grants are designed to bring about an important shift in communities, a shift away from the notion of government doing for people and toward empowering citizens to do for themselves. One such Community Partnership in Texas is currently being evaluated by a team of practicing sociologists. This paper is based on lessons learned from their experiences. These lessons are important for practitioners, as they may substantially improve the design and implementation of community evaluation efforts.

The evaluation of this community project was comprehensive in that it used both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Each technique offered different types of information and each served to assess the program in different ways. Each also posed different problems for the evaluation design. The quantitative evaluation of this project relied on a series of community and student substance abuse surveys. That information was collected at different times with different populations using slightly different methodologies and, not surprisingly, produced different results. The qualitative evaluation effort was conducted at one point in time in the five-year project. At that time, the evaluators conducted focus groups, in-depth individual interviews, community observations and document reviews. The qualitative findings that emerged from these efforts, while rich in supportive and formative detail, could not be generalized to other projects and were limited to the specific point in time of the field work. The lessons discussed below have been derived from both evaluation strategies.

Lesson 1. The first activity of any Community Partnership initiative must be the collection of quality baseline data in order to later measure program effectiveness.

In order to capture the effect of the entire intervention on a community, it is important to conduct assessments prior to the initial activities. Usually a five-year community grant begins with a great deal of fanfare. Press releases, media events, and other "kick off" activities raise the community's consciousness about changes needed and raise expectations about people's ability to achieve change. Much important work of a grant takes place within the first months of the initiative. Members from the community are likely to have met to create a vision for the community and to learn more about community problems and to "brainstorm" and investigate strategies to solve these problems. Within the first few months, community members may have developed action teams and publicized their activities. Enthusiasm, awareness, activity and expectations are high during the first year. It is essential, therefore, that pre-assessments come before this time in order to capture the important effects of these early activities. This is often particularly difficult when funding comes from grants because funds cannot be encumbered, nor contracts let, before the official start date of the grant.

Granting agencies that expect quality evaluation can do much to insure that timely evaluation efforts occur. In their Requests for Proposals (RFPs), funding agencies can recommend the possible use of selected instruments and supply samples of some in the RFPs. This will give program evaluators a "leg up" in designing pre-assessments. This may also help granting agencies to conduct more meaningful meta-analyses across program sites when programs have ended. If the granting agency encourages project directors to begin pre-program evaluations just after start-up, but before other grant activities began, and provide immediate technical assistance and support for these efforts, this might insure more accurate baseline data across programs.

More information must be provided to project directors on the nature of program evaluation. In the proposal development phase, project directors need to know how to select effective program evaluators and how to review an evaluation proposal. Once the project is funded, project directors must have clear guidelines on how to monitor their program's evaluation. In addition, they should know the usual sequence of tasks for program evaluation and how, and when, to get technical assistance. Finally, the link between the granting agency and the program's evalu-

ators needs to be strengthened to insure that evaluators are receiving what they need from the granting agency in terms of information, technical assistance, and monitoring.

Not only are the practical exigencies of grant award and program start-up important for quantitative baseline data, they also impact the collection of qualitative data. At start-up, the evaluators must visit the community and collect qualitative baseline data on an array of topics. For example, qualitative data on community leadership might be based on questions such as "Who are the key leaders in the community? What are their perceptions about community problems? What barriers do they see to change in the community? Are they willing to participate in the change efforts?" Sometime after these initial interviews and observations, the evaluators might document how these leaders participated in the work of the Partnership.

What occurred in Texas: The announcement of this grant received a great deal of press in the community. News reports carried stories of previous student surveys about substance abuse and raised general awareness of the problem. Within six weeks of the grant announcement, there was a retreat with 100 members of the community meeting for three days at a local camp to develop a vision for their community and plan strategies for the five-year project. The retreat was filmed and within a year, a video of the event played frequently on a local cable station. All of these events occurred within the first year of the grant and greatly raised the consciousness of the community about the problem of community substance abuse.

The high visibility first-year events were followed in the middle of the second year with a community survey that was intended to provide "baseline" data to measure program effectiveness. The survey was developed and implemented by a well-respected research organization at a major state university, however, because it came fifteen months after the program was initiated, it provided skewed baseline data. For example, the evaluator's report of the baseline data indicated that the total past year prevalence for alcohol within the community was 53 percent, well below the 69 percent reported nationally (Texas A & M 1992). Most likely, the flurry of activity of the Drug Task Force and its high visibility in the community in the first fifteen months of the grant had an effect on lowering the alcohol use in the community. Or, these events may have made respondents less willing to report use. The project director believed that these baseline prevalence figures were low. She recognized that any subsequent survey would most likely show an in-

crease in alcohol use despite the program's best efforts, and she was correct.

What also occurred in Texas was that no qualitative data were collected at the beginning of the program. Instead, the second evaluation team collected qualitative data when they came on board two years after the program began. The data they collected provided an overview of program activities, leadership, and community response at that particular moment. If qualitative baseline data had been gathered from the onset, there might have been an explanation for the alcohol use rates that were uncovered later through the quantitative community survey. Comments by the community members and leaders would have provided greater insight into what had happened over the course of the intervention.

Lesson 2. Substantial effort must be made to document the research design and to preserve data over the course of the intervention because five-year projects frequently experience a turnover in evaluators.

It is commonplace on a five-year grant that the project's final evaluation report is written by an evaluator who was not on the starting team. When turnover occurs, continuity in evaluating the project often suffers and elements of the evaluation design including instruments and key data may be lost to the project. New evaluators may assume that data, instruments, design, and memory about the program's evaluation will survive the transition through the staff, but the staff's priority is work in the community and they may have little insight into, or recollection of, the details of the evaluation plan.

In some cases, it may be impossible to provide for a seamless transition of evaluators, but in many instances with some planning and effort, important information about the evaluation design and the data can be preserved. Project directors might contract with the departing evaluator to insure that information, records, instruments, and data are transmitted to the new evaluator. During this transition, the new evaluator should document the research design in as much detail as possible before the initial evaluator departs the scene.

Problems with turnover in evaluators can be circumvented partly by the granting agency as well. They can provide new project directors with information about what documents, reports, information on research design, and raw data should be retained by the program. All data collected by the evaluator should be carefully labeled and stored on disk with accompanying instruments and a code book, and a copy of these should be housed at the program site and retained with program records.

Not only is it necessary to provide as much of a seamless transition as possible when there is a change in evaluators, there are occasions when substantial improvements need to be made to the evaluation design either from the clients' or the funding agencies' points of view. The failure to include a qualitative dimension to the initial evaluation design can substantially impact not only the transition between evaluation teams but the effectiveness of the evaluation overall.

What happened in Texas: All of the raw data from the first community and school surveys were lost to the new evaluators. All that remained were reports that included frequencies, tables, and instruments. Sampling strategies were also lost and the new evaluators were not sure of the geographic area used for the neighborhood survey since this was not included in the report. Without the original data, statistical tests were cumbersome and limited. Without sampling strategies, comparisons of some neighborhood data could not be made. While substantial program funding went into these efforts, the net return was disappointing to the program and the evaluators.

The project director believed that the story of the intervention was not being told in the numbers. She specifically asked for a way to communicate the success of her program and the initiatives that were developing in the community. The simplest way to provide a rich level of detail to tell the Partnership's story was with a qualitative design. While this dimension was added to the evaluation design in the third year of the project, the data produced from this effort could not be tracked from the beginning of the project because a qualitative approach was not incorporated in the initial design.

Lesson 3. A single research methodology can provide rich data for evaluating a program, but who you select to measure and the timing of your evaluation efforts may give you substantially different pictures of program effects. A variety of evaluation approaches is essential for community projects.

In most Community Partnerships, three approaches to outcome evaluation are commonplace: (a) quantitative data are gathered through surveys (usually student/school surveys and community/household surveys) and other standardized and unstandardized instruments, (b) extant data are collected through various community archival sources, and (c) both quantitative and qualitative data are gathered through individual and group interviews. Also important are process evaluation data that can be very useful to

the program. Data from these evaluations can be arrayed and interpreted in ways that are useful to the program staff in their neighborhood presentations, newsletters and other community media. Each of these data sets becomes a "snap shot" of the community and may reflect the effects of the grant initiative. They may, however, reflect events of the moment that are independent of the work of the grant. Evaluators must be aware of what is happening in the community at the time of the "snap shot" in order to interpret results. They must also vary their data gathering approaches to provide as accurate a picture as possible of program effects. Granting agencies and program directors should carefully monitor evaluation plans to insure that there are a variety of measures used at various points in time for both process and outcome evaluation.

The clinician's role is to facilitate the intervention for community improvement. To do this best, the clinician must use a variety of evaluation techniques. This approach is critical to the mission of the project. By using only a single methodology that provides a narrow focus into the reality of what is happening in the community, practitioners not only limit the effectiveness of the evaluation design but they may also be limiting the intervention itself. Interventions are strengthened and programs are more likely to reach their goals when high quality, formative evaluation data are provided to the project director and staff in the early stages of the intervention. These data are essential for shaping the program so that it achieves its goals.

What happened in Texas: The second team of evaluators began working with the Partnership in the third year of the grant. Because a great deal of the work of this community project was targeted to developing neighborhood leadership, the second team of evaluators began by interviewing residents of the targeted neighborhoods. The evaluators documented the ways in which leadership had developed and how the neighborhood had changed since the Partnership began. According to some fifty interviewees, the grant activities had a very positive effect on the neighborhoods. Residents believed that they had acquired new skills in community problem-solving and that their efforts had produced some remarkable effects in their neighborhoods. Residents in one area reported that they planned to take a former crack house in their neighborhood and turn it into a community center. Drug dealing was no longer tolerated in the neighborhoods, there was a close working relationship with community policing, neighborhood clean-up was underway, and the local park was safe for their children (Ellis and Watts 1995).

Two years later, the evaluators implemented a telephone survey of the community and the targeted neighborhood in order to assess program effects. Since the survey would measure incidence and prevalence of drug use in addition to other community issues, the survey was conducted in the same month (three years later) as the pre-assessment in order to make data from both assessments as comparable as possible. Respondents to the survey were residents selected from a random sample of households from the targeted neighborhood. Respondents were asked how they perceived their neighborhood. Over a fifth (21 percent) of them believed that there was less drug dealing in their neighborhood over the past three years.¹ The majority of respondents (61 percent) also thought that the Drug Task Force/Community Partnership was effective or extremely effective in its work. However, many residents painted a bleak picture of neighborhood safety and other issues: 22 percent believed that the neighborhood was less safe now than it was three years earlier and nearly one in three residents (30 percent) felt it was a worse place to live (Ellis and Bell 1996).

The evaluators were perplexed that many of the survey findings were inconsistent with the interview data collected two years earlier. They discussed the findings with staff and the community's steering committee, and came to realize that the more recent negative perceptions from the neighborhood telephone survey were likely due to the timing of the survey. At the time of the survey, neighborhood morale was at a low ebb. The city seemed to be waffling on their agreement to provide funds to renovate the community center, and four years of neighborhood efforts appeared to be wasted. The earlier sense of empowerment that evaluators had heard in interviews had turned to frustration and anger that was captured in the community survey.

Some time after the survey, two important events occurred in the neighborhood. The neighborhood decided to incorporate and become a 501 (c) (3) in order to find their own funds to build a community center, and then the city came forward and pledged the funds for the community center. Plans to tear down the abandoned building developed so that the city could build a new community center on the site. Today, feelings are running high in the neighborhood because of this important victory. Had the community survey occurred some months later than it did, responses of these neighborhood residents might well have reflected these positive changes.

Under any circumstances, measuring program outcomes is difficult. In community grants, this is particularly difficult because events of the hour may affect residents' perceptions of their community and their

evaluation of program efforts. To circumvent this, program evaluators must use a variety of measures at various points in time in order to craft the most accurate portrait of a community and its change efforts. They must be aware of community history and current events in order to accurately interpret findings. While both a community and school survey were used in this project at specific points in time, the methodology did not provide an opportunity for neighborhoods to tell their stories in detail. Open-ended qualitative techniques would have provided additional and detailed accounts from community members about how the neighborhood was changing—a process often characterized by “ups and downs.” Neighbors would have told stories of taking back their park from drug dealers and seizing control of a bar that was a hub of drug distribution, prostitution and violence. They would have told stories about the work of community police and pointed proudly to their neighborhood’s heroic police officer. The quantitative survey methodology missed these important stories and the rich details of a changing neighborhood.

Lesson 4. Often evaluators of community programs propose to use extant data from community agencies and organizations in order to measure program effects, however, use of these data may be based on faulty causal assumptions.

Community substance abuse prevention programs may hypothesize that as their program becomes successful there will be a decline in the number of D.W.I.s or M.I.P.s (Minor in Possession) given by police to underage drinkers. The problem with these indicators is that program success *might* be better indicated by rates going in the opposite direction from those hypothesized. For example, the norm of a community may be for police to look the other way when stopping drivers who appeared intoxicated. Similarly, students might report that when stopped with alcohol in their car, the police either confiscate the alcohol or pour it out and tell the students to go home without giving M.I.P.s. So, success in training police on prevention efforts may mean an initial rise in D.W.I.s and M.I.P.s which indicates the problem is being addressed.

What happened in Texas: In the year prior to the grant, the Drug Task Force began raising community awareness about alcohol and other drug issues. Then, in the first year of the grant, community participants were trained to collect data on community risk factors and they were encouraged to look at changes in these indicators over time to document the work of the Partnership. As community members became bet-

ter educated on prevention issues, they acknowledged in interviews that a rise in D.W.I.s or M.I.P.s in the community—at least in the short run -- might reflect more effective law enforcement and program success. In fact, review of police department's statistics seem to reflect a shift in enforcement practices. Between 1989 and 1990 when the Drug Task Force began in the community, the number of D.W.I.s doubled (from 100 to 205) and arrests for public drunkenness went from 696 to 773 (F.B.I. Uniform Crime Statistics 1985-1992). The Drug Task Force and community policing had a close working relationship in 1989, and even shared office space at that time. It seems likely then that enforcement of D.W.I. and public intoxication laws would be strengthened and this is clearly reflected in the statistics.

Again, the use of qualitative methodologies is essential to understanding why police shifted in their enforcement efforts. Without qualitative data gathered over the course of the project, the rise in statistics becomes a challenge for the project director and evaluators to explain. Without these data, the explanation may simply be conjecture.

Because it is somewhat difficult to predict what goals a community will set for itself, sometimes data, not initially thought to be important, become a truer reflection of Partnership efforts. For example, the city's Housing and Urban Development Department provided data on the number of housing units renovated, the number of abandoned units that were removed, and city clean-up and weed control efforts. These were services needed by the neighborhoods as they began their self-improvement programs, and they were indicators that the Partnership was working to improve the quality of life in targeted neighborhoods.

Lesson 5. Community Partnerships need to rethink the nature of their interventions and evaluation efforts. Rather than broad-based interventions and global evaluations, Partnerships might target interventions more precisely and evaluate on a smaller scale to measure program effectiveness.

Community Partnerships tend to have very broad-based goals, and as such their efforts may be "diluted" because they are not more precisely targeted nor more intensely focused. If intervention efforts are targeted and focused, if there are timely pre- and post-program measures using comparison groups within the community, then causal inferences can be made. These are essential to clearly understanding program effects.

What happened in Texas: When interventions were targeted and evaluation efforts were focused on these efforts, real differences occurred and were detected through the evaluation design. In particular, two focused Partnership interventions demonstrated positive effects: alcohol use by students and cocaine use in a targeted neighborhood.

One targeted intervention occurred when the Partnership collaborated with the Independent School District. Because a two-year Drug Free Schools and Communities grant coincided with the first two years of the Partnership grant, staff of both grants collaborated on many events. Pre-assessment of students occurred prior to the start of either of the grants. Then, all school personnel participated in prevention training for two years and new programs were put into place in the schools. The post-program assessment of students in grades 7-12 demonstrated that lifetime, past school year, and last month use of alcohol (the targeted drug of choice) declined significantly for students in the community from 1990 to 1995 (Ellis and Bell 1995).

In the targeted neighborhoods, reduction of illicit drug dealing was a goal established by the residents. Organizing, demonstrating, "taking back" the neighborhood park, developing a close association with their community policing officers, working with Housing and Urban Development to tear down abandoned houses, all produced positive effects. As a result, in the targeted neighborhood, lifetime prevalence of cocaine (a drug of choice) went from 9 percent to 5 percent in a three-year period.

Recently the Partnership began another focused intervention. The Partnership sought and received state funding for needed family services on the south side, the most economically disadvantaged area of the city. Two important goals of this grant (now in its first year) are to facilitate families' access to community health and mental health services and to encourage more parents to volunteer for community and school efforts. The program is focusing on families with children in two elementary schools. The staff is currently working with the evaluators to conduct a door-to-door survey of families in the neighborhood to assess their needs and to find better ways to deliver services. By concentrating on the families of just two schools in the area, program efforts will more likely be successful and meaningful evaluation can occur.

More targeted interventions are easier to measure both quantitatively and qualitatively. From the qualitative point of view, more focused information can be gathered over time from informants. Qualitative data are also useful to project directors as they design and modify their pro-

grams. In other ways, these data are useful to policy makers and funding agencies. Policy makers are looking for clear evidence of successful interventions to justify expenditures. Legislators are looking for interventions that are broad-based and impact large populations. Funding agencies are looking for effective programs that justify continued appropriations. While quantitative evaluations can produce important findings, these findings may not address the policy concerns of legislators or funding agencies. It is through qualitative methodologies, particularly case studies, that practitioners can provide rich information about community interventions and outcomes. While limited in generalizability, if qualitative methods are supplemented by quantitative techniques, then evaluators and project directors can most effectively describe community interventions and outcomes.

It is likely that the most notable effects of this particular Texas Community Partnership were documented by observation and the collection of process data. Under the leadership of a creative project director and her staff, the Partnership has grown in terms of individual members and community organizations. This growth is essential to changing community norms. Secondly, because of staff and neighborhood efforts, the Partnership will continue after the CSAP grant ends. The Partnership has been successful in winning three other state, federal, and foundation grants. One neighborhood has become a private non-profit corporation and has begun to look for support for their activities. Other neighborhoods will likely follow suit. The Partnership has found and used funds and volunteers from a broad range of organizations. Perhaps one of the most important effects of Community Partnerships is demonstrated when neighborhoods can marshal volunteers and attract resources to achieve neighborhood goals. Real change in communities may take years to effect. By building an infrastructure with an effective organization, committed volunteers and ongoing resources, this partnership is demonstrating how to “stay the course” and will likely be effective in promoting lasting community change.

Summary

A five-year evaluation effort with a Texas Community Partnership has provided evaluators with quantitative and qualitative data on program effects and some new insights into effective program evaluation. From their experience, some problems in community evaluation meth-

odology are evident. The sociological practitioners who evaluated this project offer suggestions from their experiences (a) there is a need to structure funded projects so that timely baseline data is collected in order to more accurately measure program effects; (b) in addition, safeguards should be instituted so that turnover in evaluators will not jeopardize the evaluation design; (c) different data gathering strategies and timing of these strategies greatly affect the picture that evaluators develop of a program at various points in time; (d) frequently, community programs use extant or archival data to assess program effectiveness and the selection of these may be based on incorrect assumptions and may provide little useful insight into program effects; (e) finally, Community Partnerships might be better served to more precisely target their interventions to enhance their effectiveness in the community.

NOTES

1. To the question, "compared to three years ago, has drug dealing changed in your neighborhood? Is there more, about the same, or less drug dealing; or doesn't it exist?" Respondents answered in the following way: 21% said less, 16% about the same, 13% said more, 32% did not know enough to answer, and 18% said, "drug dealing does not exist."

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On Backtracking My Path to Applied Sociology: An Exercise in Lesson-Seeking Autobiography

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Like you, I have tried to make a difference, tried to do some good with my sociological imagination, theories, and tools (Straus 1994). What I haven't done, at least up until writing this essay, is given much thought to two underlying questions—what in my background drew me into applied sociology? And what related lessons are worth passing along?

I have been a full-time academic and practitioner for the past 35 years. This has enabled me to work, in turn, on a pioneering parole preparation project. On OEO anti-poverty programs. On civilian personnel problems at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. On the efficacy of a computer-aided K-12 classroom. On the social design, and the assessment of innovations in HUD-aided New Towns. On the social impact of HUD-aided energy innovations. On the role of males in abortions. On the use of surveys by labor unions. And on the upgrading of the K-12 school curriculum, the role of unions in a post-industrial world, and the uses we can make of long-range forecasts ("Futuristics").

Long ago convinced sociology's well-being hinged in part on its demonstrated usefulness, I have introduced courses on my campus in Social Change and Social Planning, Industrial Sociology, and Futuristics. Privileged to know some of the nation's best practitioners, I have solic-

ited essays from them for *Sociology in Action* (1966) and *Putting Sociology to Work* (1974a). Briefly persuaded years ago that a single-source of reform ideas might be useful, I wrote (to no one's particular notice, alas), *Modern Social Problems: Solving Today's Social Problems* (1974c).

The better to maximize any contribution I might make, I chose from the outset to concentrate on one particular social class—blue-collarites, one special agent of change—trade unionism, and one overlooked social problem—males in the abortion paradigm (Shostak, 1962-1996). At the same time, however, I enjoy the challenge of a wide range in clients for my forecasting services (I give about 30 commissioned forecast talks a year for corporations, school systems, professional societies, etc., all of whom have to prepare six prioritized questions to guide a custom-tailored, sociology-based, multi-media presentation I prepare for them).

Asking What It's All Been About

Most recently, having challenged myself to create a Home page on the Net, I have had to ask what from my years as a practitioner warrants mention? What linked writings of mine might reward a visit to my Web site? And, in the spirit of my latest book which urges the study of "that which we hesitate to tell," what should or should not be self-censored? (Shostak 1996).

Invited now by this journal to initiate a series of short autobiographical essays, I have revisited my Home page quandaries. This time, however, I have chosen to focus on two inter-related questions not a part of my Web site material: Namely, what sociological aspects of my pre-Ph.D life help explain why I became a practitioner? And, what have I learned along the way worth sharing?

Marginality and Survival

Even as a child I was immersed in a world shaped by untutored sociological practice, though none of the practitioners, neither my parents nor I, really understood this at the time.

In the early 1940s my folks were the naive Jewish owners of a small marginal grocery in a colorful Italian "urban village" in Brooklyn, New York (Gans 1982). As such, they relied on their own creative (if also

unschooled) mix of cultural anthropology, “from-the-gut” psychology, Machievellian politics, and, above all, applied intuitive sociology.

From my vantage point as a grocery clerk and delivery boy, I watched as my folks learned to deal with urban Italian folkways. With the shadowy presence of old world/new world anti-semitism. And with the less shadowy significance of the local branch of the *Costra Nostra* (bench-warming old men rose, lowered their eyes, and doffed their caps when the local Don passed by).

With precious little room for making mistakes, my parents learned to accommodate mobster-led area labor unions. And the savagery of “nothing-to-lose” teen-age gangs. And whispered gossip about incest, adultery, and the other sins of our neighbors too dangerous often to know about, better yet cautiously pass along.

Shorn quickly of my innocence, I got a lasting lesson in what we now call the First Law of Sociology—“Things are seldom what they seem to be.” (Berger 1963:23) I learned not to trust outward appearances, to respect my intuition, and to keep my guard up—all lessons I’d urge on applied sociologists anywhere.

Living in the Enemy Camp

My father was a bright personable high-school dropout whose store-keeping day began at 5am and stretched late into the night seven days a week. My mother was a bright energetic nurse who often worked the 4pm to midnight hospital shift, this after helping all day in the grocery. When, years later, a theory instructor labored to explain to a graduate course I was taking, the Work Ethic, Calvinism, and the survival-of-the-fittest, I often thought back on our taken-for-granted Brooklyn existence and sighed with recognition.

A close-knit team, my parents strove to relate diplomatically to our gentile neighbors (ours was one of only two Jewish families in the area). They operated out of an intuitively scientific mode, one that had us endlessly studying the environs for clues to assure our survival. We were “field researchers” gingerly trying to get along with a surrounding village of potential assailants—a village with which we preferred to have amiable relations, but on which we never turned our backs.

Ordinary stressors, like making an inadvertent mistake with change at the cash register, could suddenly become fierce incidents when a customer loudly charged us with “jewling” them out of their due. Simi-

larly, for my two younger brothers and me the route home on afternoons from religious school a mile away was fraught with danger, as small groups of gentile boys along the route occasionally tossed rocks at us and sought to beat us up—a fate we took delight in almost always out-maneuvering.

Choosing Sides

Perhaps the greatest threat to my well-being, however, came from an invisible and subtle source.

Our zany imitation of Manhattan's Little Italy had much to recommend it: Life was laid-back, the streets were safe, and the mood was congenial. Once you were accepted, people looked out for your welfare, watched after your kids, and met your smile with a genuine one of their own. The neighborhood's famous Italian church festivals were uproarious, complete with a pig on top of a greased pole, and city police who looked the other way when illegal gambling began. It was quite possible even for a young Jewish outsider like me to imagine settling into this Italian version of "Brigadoon." (Not that I had an invitation).

But our working-class neighbors also had certain attributes at odds with those much valued at home and in Synagogue. Holders of high-school diplomas, if even that, most of our customers were deeply suspicious of education and educated people. Many relied for daily news only on sneering tabloids or the popular new magazine, *Confidential*, which featured sensational exposes of their alleged "betters" (as in the outing of gay celebrities or politicians, and the castigating of fallen heroes, etc.) Racist, sexist, homophobic, and nationalistic attitudes were commonplace, albeit back then little opposition was apparent inside the village or elsewhere. In 1,000 and one ways, many of our neighbors made the least-best of life chances, and feared to dare. (Shostak 1964).

With very little effort I might have adopted the neighborhood's passive acceptance of "fate" and its very limited horizon (though hopefully not its various venal "isms").

What kept me from doing so was our marginality, and a nagging suspicion, grounded in large part in the diverse library reading I so loved, that there was more to life than allowed for by the constricting village formula. My mother also helped by fiercely insisting her sons make more of their lives than she saw about her. Village culture became a negative model for me, and I resolved to somehow get out and live quite differently.

On especially stressful occasions since I have sometimes thought how much easier life would be had I only surrendered back then to the cynicism of the “wise guys” and the fatalism of most villagers (Kornblum 1974). Happily, this mood soon passes—and I return to trying to make a difference, something many of my old Brooklyn neighbors would find quite puzzling: “Why bother? It’s all rigged, you know, and you can’t win.” But I have, I sometimes still do, and I am resolute about trying.

Working it Out

Over the course of 35 years of running their grocery, my folks deciphered much of neighborhood’s hidden text, and gained considerable acceptance—albeit they always privately regarded their role as that of outsiders, as Simmel’s classic “strangers” (Wolff 1950).

My father, in particular, capitalized on his affability to help run a local Boy Scout troop, sell our catering services for neighborhood social events, serve as an Air Raid Warden, and in other quixotic ways, make a bit of a difference. He especially enjoyed writing a sprightly “persons-and-places” social column for a free neighborhood weekly paper. Certain customers enjoyed finding themselves mentioned in flattering ways, though my mother always feared he might earn the wrath of other volatile neighbors somehow upset by the column.

Watching him at this I learned techniques of participant-observer research I later studied more formally in graduate school. Dad also gathered a circle of local male gentile friends (“gumbas”) with whom he nightly processed unsavory events of relevance (the day’s political scandals, economic vagaries, juicy gossip, etc.). Discretely listening in, I learned much about data and content analysis (“crap-detecting”) that has stood me in good stead ever since.

My mother, in turn, learned enough “pidgin” Italian to converse haltingly with ancient non-English speaking black-garbed men and women who would wander in looking for this or that. As a nurse she also gave solicited medical advice that discretely respected the poverty of many of our working-class customers. I watched, listened, and learned about respect, caring, and empathy.

On Making Enemies and Friends

A sociological lesson I owe to my father possibly saved my life, and certainly spared me severe beatings. One careless morning at school I made the mistake of insulting a local 15-year old sociopath, for which I paid heavily later that afternoon with a severe beating from him and two allies. He promised, as well, to find me on future days and wreck even more damage.

My black eye, split lip, and bruised ribs outraged my father, and he called in a marker he held on a local teen gang leader (months earlier my father had been instrumental in getting the gang head released from jail, this earning him a pledge of unlimited favors).

My surly antagonist was hustled into the back of our store the next day by several buoyant gang members who gleefully offered to immediately break or otherwise abuse various parts of his body. Over-ruled by my always-cautious mother, the gang took my assailant off elsewhere to "talk" things over, and I never saw him again, in or outside of school. (Two months later the surly one showed up dead from bullet wounds in a nearby canal often used for dumping bodies; no tears were shed or arrests ever made).

I realized even then that my father's cultivation of alliances with stigmatized and unconventional people was an astute survival tactic. From that time forward I have sought alliances in my sociological practice with relevant individuals possibly scorned by more conventional others, making clear thereby my right to compacts with whomever I chose.

Learning to X-Ray Society

If my father's sociological lessons were primarily inter-personal in nature, my mother's were more structural in character, and just as valuable in reinforcing the (anti-village) notion that change-making was desirable and possible.

For example, when I was a year away from being transferred to a nearby junior high school, she determined to win the re-designation of the public school across the street as a new junior high. This would assure two more years of a walk rather than a school bus ride for me (and thereafter, my two younger brothers).

Having no experience with this sort of fight, Mom took over the school's Parent-Teachers Association, and enlisted a score of similarly

concerned mothers to strategize and join the struggle. They studied related PTA fights with the Board of Education. They discussed their options with local politicians (some of whom were their adult sons, on whom they held markers). And they painfully deciphered the esoteric structure of power relations at the Board, no mean feat for rank amateurs at organizational analysis!

In due course, though only after much drama and struggle, they won . . . and I was left dazzled by the ability of aroused citizens to learn the game and play it through to (occasional) success. From that time forward I have never doubted the ability of ordinary folk to carry the (occasional) day, albeit I have since come to believe it somewhat easier and far more likely with the explicit aid of applied sociology.

Summer “School”

Lest I leave the misimpression that my folks required me to clerk for room and board the year around I hasten to note that summers—when business would fall off so much that Dad might sometimes nap at the counter—I was freed up to serve as an unpaid (or poorly paid) counselor at a variety of mountain camps for poverty-stricken youngsters (much like, but much younger than myself).

While the camps varied over the years, one in particular made an especially strong impression. Unknown to the parents of campers and counselors alike, the camp’s administration had been taken over by Soviet-admiring young American communists. Bright, energetic, and “liberated,” they saw and took a golden opportunity to expose us to ideologies, practices, and values many of us found very appealing . . . and out from under the shadow of which I shall probably never entirely escape.

I learned, for example, a class warfare and revolutionary interpretation of American and world history at odds with the standard pabulum fed us at school. I learned to sing the International and salute the U.N. flag at morning flag raising ceremonies. I learned about scores of national and global problems I was challenged to help redress, and I learned the strategic importance for helping working-class Americans of forward-looking (communist-led) labor unions.

When we played “Cowboys and Indians” we substituted the language of “White” and “Red” Russians. And when we asked we were told the identity of the enemy (property-stealing bourgeoisie, their Wall Street allies, and the forces of Joe McCarthy).

Best of all, on certain nights in the dark of our cabin we were encouraged to ask aloud all the questions about sex, love, and girls we were otherwise too embarrassed to raise . . . and our counselors would sensitively answer us: this practice earned camp leaders more goodwill than any of their other tactics.

Even at the time, however, some hard-nosed aspects of this novel scene troubled me. As a counselor, for example, I was required to restrict campers to writing postcards (no sealed letters). I was expected to turn in any that alerted parents to the odd ways of camp leaders, though I never did so. Similarly, on the weekend when parents were allowed to visit I had to patrol a pathway set up to keep them and campers apart (a polio scare in New York was used as an excuse). I was told to listen in on family conversations shouted across the pathway, and rush to favorably explain things to puzzled parents . . . something I always side-stepped.

Before the summer's end, returning campers told enough at home to lead to a purge of many camp leaders. Their indoctrination program was abandoned, and while I had been only an onlooker I came to miss the camp's earlier pizzazz, though not its "Stalag 17" aspects.

I took away from the experience lasting appreciation for our sex education sessions and for my introduction to the hair-raising perspective of the revolutionary left. I also harbor lasting resentment over feeling worked on and worked over, resentment over feeling manipulated and used . . . these, empowering sentiments that I value to this day.

Group Membership as Shield

In the early 1950s my high school in Queens, New York, mixed about 10% worth of college-bound youngsters like myself with many others eager only to get the hell out of there. Once or twice every year the building was cordoned off in response to rumors Black and Italian teen-age gangs were going to "rumble" unless enough heavily-armed police first intervened. With over 4,500 teens on the roll books, there was seldom a dull day at school . . . and often a dangerous one.

Incipient sociologist that I was, I practiced a sort of defensive group-membership existence . . . and deliberately employed three student activity clubs as a buffer against the school's gangland hazards.

A rather poor violin player, I nevertheless joined the school orchestra, knowing it would serve thereafter as my homeroom section. This

assured a start to my school day among relatively civilized peers, albeit a heterogeneous melange of rival lovers of either classical, or pop, or jazz, or country and western music.

Then I volunteered to write a column for the school newspaper, as its student club was a welcomed source of intellectual stimulation. This made up for my not being in a college-bound homeroom section, something I had wanted to avoid as I did not want to carry the related “nerd” stigma.

Finally, I somehow managed to qualify for the school’s well-regarded track team. I proudly wore a track team jacket throughout my high school years, a status-enhancing garment that commanded respect (and assured no hassles) from Black and Italian gang members alike.

This successful experiment with using group memberships further weakened any hold of urban village passivity on me. I tentatively concluded that any of us might knit together memberships that could help protect and even empower us, a life-enhancing lesson I have urged on clients ever since.

Testing and Tweaking Reality

Encouraged by my father (himself a proud Mason), I joined a nearby chapter of the Order of DeMolay, an international fraternal group linked to the Masonic Order. For many teen-age months thereafter I reveled in the novelty of my seeming acceptance by 30 or so young Protestant peers. Only the second Jewish male to seek and gain admission to the Brooklyn chapter, I bowled, partied, and officiated much as one of the gang.

All the more exciting was the opportunity I was offered to join a small number of chapter members in the first serious extended prank of my life, one which served to disabuse me forever after of inappropriate reverence for high-level politicians.

Led by a high-spirited older member (perhaps 21 years old), we had stationary printed suggesting we were the advance guard of a large (fictitious) organization of teens opposed to drug use. Focusing on Washington, D.C., we used this stationary to snooker GM into lending us a new car for our use in the District. We got a major hotel to provide free rooms, and we sent roses to the secretaries of various senators we thought it would be fun to visit with—all of whom saw us, told us how much good they had heard about our (fictitious) organization, and urged us to invite them to speak at our forthcoming national (fictitious) meeting.

The high point of the prank came when we crossed paths in Congress with Vice-President Nixon, who graciously posed for pictures as if receiving from us our (fictitious) Report on Youth Efforts to End Drug Use.

Delighted with our ability to carry off this harmless prank, we left D.C. convinced far too many office-holders were far too gullible and susceptible to flattery—all assessments that have served me well ever since.

On Being Black-Balled

Not all of my teen-age experiments with groups worked out as intended. Misled by the bonhomie of DeMolay chapter life, I casually proposed a Jewish friend of mine for membership, and was abruptly taught a searing lesson about a concept we sociologists call the “tipping point.”

After the first blackball showed up in the election box our adult chapter adviser took to the floor, and talked movingly about the death in war of his only son at Iwo Jima. With tears streaming down his face, and his hand on a nearby chapter American flag, he urged a second vote, this time in favor of the tolerance his son had fought to preserve. He was visually crushed when, some minutes later, the candidate was again secretly rejected.

I waited a few weeks to serve as an honor guard member at the bedside of the adviser's hospital bed (cancer took him a few days later), and then I quietly resigned all further DeMolay affiliation. I have tried ever since in my sociological practice to never under-estimate the hold prejudice has on some of us, nor the toll it continues to take on all of us.

College Expectations—Mine and Theirs

Eager by now to get away from the grocery and the urban village alike, I applied to a new near-free upstate public college—the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR), located on the campus at Cornell University.

My father had been part of an unsuccessful effort to organize his employer (a large Brooklyn bakery) just before being becoming a grocer, and his example had long intrigued me. As well, many neighbors were unionists, and talk of strikes, dues, grievances, union politics, labor rackets, and

bad employers was common across the store counter (Halle 1984). I hoped to become either a union lawyer or a union staffer, and thereby somehow help working-class folk . . . or so it seemed to me at 17.

My very first day in my very first class resulted in a life-altering experience I am tempted to call an epiphany, something I have still not left behind . . . and hope never to.

As we 75 freshmen sat nervously awaiting the arrival of our professor he startled us by bursting through the classroom's swinging doors absorbed in something he was holding out in front and reading. Without missing a step he mounted a platform to a podium where he continued to read to himself. We waited silently while he read intently on.

Finally, the professor looked up at us and waved the papers in his hand in our direction: In a loud voice I can hear to this day he asked—"Have you seen what they are saying in this week's issue of *Izvestia*?" No, we murmured, wondering whatever he was referring to. Without missing a beat he began to sight-translate his airmail edition of the Russian newspaper to us, and we knew for certain then that we were no longer in high school (or Kansas, Toto), but had arrived at some place very different.

That this professor, this erudite credentialed stranger, thought it reasonable to ask if we had caught up yet with the current edition of a leading overseas paper, and a Russian one to boot, was an incredible jolt to my self-definition and self-esteem: Wow!, I thought, what a remarkably high expectation to have of us, to have of *me*! And on the spot, or so I now like to think, I resolved to try and live up to it.

The task was not made any easier by my lack of funds: While tuition was negligible for state residents, it took all my folks had to pay the dorm rent. I washed pots and pans for 18 hours a week to secure 21 meals, and put in another 10 hours a week as a student librarian to earn some pin money (Mom sent a \$1 a week, which in the mid-50s went a reasonable way).

As a grade school student I had once brought home a B grade, the first ever among the A's routinely expected in my household. I remember nervously handing the card to my father who stared at it incredulously, and then asked plaintively—"How could you do this to your mother?" With this in my background, and the *Izvestia* challenge ringing in my ears, I managed to earn the highest course average in my class throughout the rest of my college stay.

I gained a keen appreciation from the *Izvestia* challenge for what we sociologists call the Pygmalion Effect, or the power of expectations

to help decisively shape outcomes—this an operating principle pivotal ever since in much of my consulting.

Somber Classmates

Perhaps the second biggest impact on me of my ILR years involved the sheer accident of matriculating during the arrival on campus of many former G.I's.

A very bloody and difficult Korean War was still raging, and the first contingent of young "G.I.Bill" veterans began to trickle into my college classes. Many were married, and lived off-campus in trailers with working wives and babies or toddlers. They had no time for or interest in standard college antics, and insisted instead on a serious classroom demeanor and a no-nonsense approach to learning.

Discovering that our taboo-honoring fraternities were segregated by religion and were closed to blacks or Asians, certain Korean War vets opened the first non-discriminatory frat and coffee house on campus (they named it "Watermargin," after the place at the bottom of a waterfall where all the animals are at peace with one another). To the astonishment of campus sexists, it even accepted co-eds as equal members!

Discovering that campus banter was commonly light-weight, narcissistic, and adolescent, certain vets could and did transform coffee-house conversations with unsparing accounts of what it had meant to hold a young dying army buddy in one's arms when both of you were freezing to death somewhere below the Yalu River.

I owe much to the presence on campus of these too old-too soon battle-scarred young men, as they modeled taboo-shattering ways. They redefined college as transitional, rather than as an Animal House playground. And they demonstrated what fraternity could and should mean. Above all, they reminded us of our mortality, of the unpredictability of life, and of the need to make the most of it—sobering, bracing lessons.

Classroom Gains

Another campus influence of lasting significance was fore-shadowed by my first contact with college instructors, by the prof who thought it reasonable to ask if we freshmen knew what "they" were saying in the current airmail edition of a major Russian newspaper. Classes were rich in having many such teachers, and we learned from their lives as well as from their lectures. Professor Milton Konvitz, for example, helped

Liberia write its Constitution and Bill of Rights, even while teaching a required course for us in the 2000-year background of our own Bill of Rights. Visiting Professor William J. Issacson helped re-write New York State statutes, even while teaching a required course in labor law. Professor Alice Cook consulted with women unionists around the globe, even while teaching a required course in American labor history. Unstinting in their high expectations of us and of themselves, certain ILR faculty helped me understand how much dedicated and inspired people might accomplish—a challenge that has had me intolerant ever since of cynical faculty whose contend it is too hard to change anything of consequence.

Campus Culture

While the 1950s were not exactly turbulent years on campus, we had our share of activism, some of which was consequential.

To be sure, we had two or more hapless and light-weight panty raids a year, as announced by bugle calls sounded from the roof of the men's dormitory, an amusing "call to arms." The most memorable of these pranks (greeted by many co-eds with laughter and good-natured derision) actually had a few hundred of us gleefully follow behind a bulldozer hot-wired by an enterprising peer intent on breaking through the stone sides of a woman's dorm (campus police intervened, alas).

Far more inspiring was the midnight torching of a straw effigy of the university president as hundreds of us nervously sang our alma mater: we wanted him to know dorm restrictions on "our" co-eds were outdated, and we were delighted when they were modernized soon after. Only a participant, and not a leader, I was thrilled nevertheless to have one more vindication of the utility of action-taking moves.

Brief Visit with the Mandarins

To my astonishment and enormous relief, my sophomore year began with an invitation to move into Telluride House, an unusual parafraternity devoted to bolstering the skills of its members, and not incidentally, of the campus at large.

Membership was confined to males at the head of their college class, all of whom then had their every college expense paid. I no longer had to earn enough to stay at school, a most remarkable and very welcomed development (Would miracles never stop happening!). Telluride was a

heady experience. Each of us, for example, was responsible for monitoring a certain portion of a vast legacy in a stock-and-bond portfolio that provided house funds, and it was in this way that I made my overdue acquaintance with Wall Street realities.

We had celebrity guests we put up as the official host for Cornell. One morning I would breakfast alongside members of the Budapest String Quartet. The next day, I might lunch talking with Eleanor Roosevelt. The day after, the Indian Ambassador to the U.N., and so on and so forth. In combination with the world-famous philosopher who lived and dined in the House, these guests assured a steady diet of high-brow conversation that left me ever since discontent with conventional small talk over meals.

But my time at Telluride was not a comfortable one. The other chaps were far better schooled than me, and we all knew it. At meals one could be called on to extemporaneously deliver a satiric short talk about current events, a talk which ran the risk of earning derisive shouts of "contrived!" from the haughty assemblage. Once a week we gathered for serious house events, including forums, debates, and other unsparing forms of intellectual jousting. As no quarter was asked or given, I commonly found the gatherings more unsettling than informative.

The suicide of a house member shocked and disturbed me, as I felt some of it was traceable to the intellectual arrogance and aloofness of too many brothers. I became openly critical of our failure to take social issues into account in managing our portfolio. I upset some with my melodramatic pro-conviction argument in a House debate about the Nuremberg trial of top Nazis. And I campaigned to relax certain house practices I judged impediments to true fraternity.

Not entirely to my surprise, though somewhat to my regret, I was asked to pack and leave at the end of the first of what could have been three subsidized years of membership. The considerable pain of expulsion from "Eden" helped me learn the price of unpersuasive reform advocacy . . . and I have tried not to lose sight of the lesson.

My junior year found me penniless (save for small financial scholarships I was now earning for high grades), and back working hours as a librarian. Moving into college town I rented a small seedy room in a quaint old Victorian house (demolished the next year as unsafe), and I resolved to show my ex-brothers at Telluride I could remain at the top of my class, and maybe even at the top of my form, without them or their cushy high-brow castle. It was a lonely and trying time, especially as my folks could not understand why I had blown my opportunity.

Off-Campus Learning: Trying Factory Work

The ILR School required that I work summers at course-related jobs, and my incipient interest in sociology gained much from four ensuing experiences.

The first summer I toiled 64 hours six days a week, week after week as a riveter at a non-union aircraft factory. I was taught to rivet in a minute, and was shocked to learn that was all there was to learn about it, especially as my assigned mentor had spent nearly forty years doing only this job. We clocked in before dawn, clocked out after dark, and only saw the sky briefly over our lunch break.

To protect our overtime bonuses we did not go for aid for our work injuries, as this might have led the Navy (our prime contractor) to reduce our hours. Instead, we shrugged off most bruises and surreptitiously bandaged one another's lacerations at our work benches.

The money meant welcomed relief from the heavy consumer debt most men carried. Nevertheless, a steady diet of twelve-hour days took a mean toll, and in short order we resembled zombies far more than men (Seider 1984). With no union to speak for us, however, we slugged along, until the accidents we could not hide had the Navy step in and cut our hours back to a mere 48 a week.

A summer spent this way in a stupor left me persuaded enough could not be done soon enough to liberate "lifers" (high-seniority blue-collarites) from the mind-numbing, spirit-bruising factory work lives in which many felt trapped (Hamper 1991). Any illusions I had ever held about the merits of factory work, I left behind on the aircraft factory floor (Pfeffer 1979).

Trying Field Research

My second summer had me traveling in an official state car all over upstate New York investigating wage and hour practices in the amusement and recreation industry. I collected this information from very uneven payroll records that often colorful, and sometimes rascally employers were required to keep on young carnival aides at traveling fairs and on stable hands at seasonal racetracks.

Perceived as a threat by many of my respondents, I learned much that long hot summer about interviewing reluctant subjects, gracefully declining bribes (and later reporting the bribe attempts), and making sense of falsified data, all of which helped me conclude the job of field investigator was one others might better fill.

Trying Dispute Resolution

The third summer I worked as an aide and observer in the Manhattan office of the State Mediation Service. I listened intently for 12 weeks while in case after case, skilled mediators strove to help management and union disputants come to terms.

Obligated to have the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon, several mediators I came to admire were as impressive as any professors back on campus. Most were nowhere as pretentious, and many seemed to make far more of a contribution to the general well-being. I was especially intrigued by their use of veiled theory and some of the same intuitive skills my folks employed in relating to our Brooklyn neighbors.

Quite unexpected was my disillusionment with the role I found labor lawyers playing for either unions or employers. Many struck me as hair-splitting self-important obstructionists intent on impressing the client and "running the meter," rather than facilitating a swift and fair resolution. Mediators discretely concurred with my bleak assessment, and shared tales of memorable problems contributed by this prominent labor lawyer or that one to what was supposed to be a problem-solving process helped along by everyone.

I left this summer experience convinced that neutrality, when trying to help resolve a dispute of others, definitely had its place—an insight I've drawn on whenever my sociological practice has since put me between antagonists. I also concluded I was not cut out for the law, and I wondered if, on balance, society was really well-served by what the legal profession and the law had come to mean.

Trying Trade Unionism

I held the last of my summer jobs after graduation. It was probably the most consequential of them all, as it helped free me of one lingering career alternative I had to dismiss before I could seriously consider the option of a career in sociology.

I worked this time for a wild and woolly labor union located in mid-Manhattan, but eager to organize workers anywhere in the Greater New York region. Indifferent to jurisdictional lines drawn to inhibit inter-union warfare, my summer employer was willing to fight almost any other union for new members (drawing the line only at Mafia-linked locals known to kill to protect their contracts).

A no-nonsense, hard-boiled outfit, my union helped disavow me of certain naive illusions I had held about organized labor.

Everyday I accompanied a business agent in search of shops to organize, by whatever means necessary—including signing a contract with a boss eager to freeze out other more powerful unions, a contract we would later assure bewildered workers was the best we could get for them.

Once we actually “kidnapped” the employees of a shop as they showed up for work, driving them to a storefront we had rented for the day. We then offered to release them if their desperate employer would immediately sign with us. Careful never to blatantly break the law, we bent it and manipulated it to advantage, believing the other side was doing as much in turn.

Opting Out

By the summer’s end I had decided not to pursue a career as a union staffer.

I understood the harsh pressures with which my union staff friends wrestled, including the need to defend their lives against Mafia misleaders of mobbed-up locals, the need to out-maneuver union-busting lawyers and anti-union consultants, and the need to constantly add new members to replace the small under-capitalized shops that were always and suddenly going out of business.

I appreciated the argument that our members were better off for having our (top-down) contract and representation than if entirely at the mercy of the boss. But something still nagged at and bothered me, much as at the summer camp years before that had been something different than what was advertised.

I realized that I lacked the ability to give unquestioning loyalty to incumbent office-holders, favoring as I did something called “union democracy,” a soft-headed matter that evoked laughter when I brought it up. I lacked the ability to hold myself above the rank-and-file, favoring as I did respect for and trust in the membership, another disparaged soft-headed matter. And I lacked the ability to wheel and deal in an agile and amoral way, favoring as I did the idealism I associated with (soft-headed) textbook notions of a labor “movement.”

Over the years since this career resolution I have often had second thoughts, especially as I have had the privilege of getting to know (and teach) hundreds of union staffers who live and act in the idealistic spirit of my imagined labor movement (Geoghegan 1991).

But back in 1958, it seemed wisest to move along to something more accepting of my values and my eagerness to work with, rather than on urban villagers, factory riveters, and union members alike.

Questioning Sociology

Professors at the ILR School whose counsel I valued urged me to consider a discipline whose influence I had noticed coursing throughout my undergraduate years.

While I had never taken a course in the subject, I had read a considerable amount of sociology written by classical theorists (Marx, Michels, Veblen, Weber, etc.), and by a smaller number of modern theorists (Bell, Lynd, Merton, Mills, Reissman, etc.). Various ILR courses of mine had also made good use of books by then-prominent industrial sociologists (Dalton, Gouldner, Hughes, Kornhauser, Lipset, Moore, Sayles, Seidman, Strauss, Purcell, Whyte, and Wilensky, etc.).

Much of this material, however, was avowedly descriptive or analytical. Very little reported on an author's deliberate interventions based in sociological reasoning.

I found this quite vexing as I believed then (and now) that "sociological practice" should include deliberate intervention. I did not consider research "applied," regardless of how novel, difficult, or esoteric the endeavor, unless and until it resulted in an intervention. I wondered if sociology had room for my activist orientation, and if I could find and study with kindred pro-active types.

Getting Funded

In addition to questions about sociology I had questions about how to pay for more years of schooling. My only hope was a newly expanded program of Woodrow Wilson fellowships. At the all-important interview, however, I was unexpectedly challenged to defend myself in an unexpected area.

I had included in my fellowship application mention of summer camp counseling jobs I had held during my high-school years. A particularly pompous member of the selection panel of five academics haughtily dismissed the notion that such jobs had any merit at all. Talented at sarcasm (a la my Telluride House brothers), he soon had the others snickering at his image of lazy counselors lolling away empty hours around a camp pool filled with over-indulged pampered young wastrels.

I still remember thinking at first how much I wanted this graduate fellowship. I could meekly concur with his caricature, curse the bastard silently to myself, and struggle to redirect the panel's attention to some other less controversial part of my application.

On second thought, however, I knew how wrong this pompous ass was about my particular camp jobs, and I could not resist launching into a rebuttal that quickly earned me shocked stares from a panel not accustomed to such boisterous effrontery.

With considerable feeling I relayed how the camps I had chosen to work at had always hosted only charity cases, abandoned children, emotionally-scarred youngsters, gun-packing young delinquents, and others far removed from stereotypes about rich and spoiled children. I recounted instances of high-tension confrontations of mine with disturbed children on the verge of seriously hurting themselves, others, or me. I told of tactics and strategies I invented to help my wards recover aspects of self-esteem denied by the "mean streets" from which they came—and to which they had to soon return.

I asked if any of the faculty panelists had ever worked at a camp where counselors patted down campers on their arrival and removed knives, brass knuckles, zip guns and other lethal items, tagged everything, and returned it all two weeks later during the bus trip home.

I asked if any had ever had to explain to a seven-year old that his mother back in the city had fled from an abusive boyfriend, leaving no forwarding address, and he would therefore have to remain a few more weeks in camp until other arrangements could be made.

Or had ever listened while a frightened 10-year old furtively asked if it was "o.k." to continue to sleep with his widowed mother, who couldn't otherwise get any rest? Or had ever had to adjust to the discovery in the nearby woods of a sawed-off shotgun and shells somehow secreted into the camp by a 12-year old whose 15-year old brother had told him to use it before taking shit from anybody?

I went on and on for perhaps 15 colorful uninterrupted minutes, and explained in loud conclusion that I frankly didn't give a good Goddamn how they viewed the role of the summer camp counselor—but I had nothing to apologize for where that role was concerned. I had learned a hell of a lot about children, abused and denied, from scores of deprived, but often very brave youngsters I might have helped just a little bit.

Then I turned on my heels, and walked out . . . quite to the surprise of the utterly quiet panel. Convinced my emotional indulgence had blown

my fellowship chances, I resigned myself to foregoing graduate school for the time being.

I trained forlornly back from the distant interview, only to find the phone persistently ringing when I finally reached my college town room. The head of the Woodrow Wilson Selection panel explained that my outburst a few hours earlier had convinced the panel I deserved a Graduate Fellowship for prospective college teachers . . . and panel members wanted to thank me for giving them a lot to think about where camps and counselors were concerned.

Armed now with a fellowship that seemed to open doors everywhere (it included overhead money and three years of full financial support), I set out to find out what sociology was about.

Finding Applied Sociology

On learning I had never taken a soc course, nervous officials at the Graduate Admissions Office at Princeton sent me over to gain acceptance or rejection from the Department's representative.

I was delighted to find his open, though empty office over-flowing with untidy piles of various liberal and democratic-left magazines and books dear to my heart. Invited in by a sign on the door that also posted an afternoon siesta hour, I rummaged about and grew more and more interested in whatever it was that this professor did.

I was even more pleased when the office's occupant, Melvin Tumin, a buoyant and caring applied sociologist, showed up, as we quickly discovered a mutual interest in wanting to make a difference with our book learning. On the spot, or so I now believe, I resolved to become whatever he was (and to some day secure a comparably chaotic, though homey campus office).

In the months that followed I accompanied Dr. Tumin to hate-filled Southern courts where he gave expert testimony in favor of school and voting desegregation plaintiffs. I studied industrial sociology and came to better appreciate its potential as a pro-reform intervention agent (Lester 1958). And I listened carefully while fellow grads (strong in having been undergraduate majors in soc) argued the merits and shortcomings of sociological theory and practice.

But, by then married and a new father, I felt obliged to take the fastest possible Ph.D.-gaining route through a discipline still new to me, two languages I had never studied before (French and German), and a required grad-level exam in statistics.

Fortunately, with the knowledge of my examiners I was able to familiarize myself with English language translations of the French and German books identified for sight-translation. Similarly, the stat exam was open-book and pre-computer in nature. My sociology comprehensive exams, however, took 10 grueling hours over two and a half days.

Had I it all to do over again, I like to think I would have taken twice as long, something I have advised breathless students ever since (save for those whom I recognize as in the situation I knew). But that was not to be.

Instead, three hectic and high-stress years later I left with a Ph.D in Industrial Sociology, my first published book (a revision of my thesis), and the exhilarating delight of a \$6,000 a year job as an assistant professor at Penn (Shostak, 1962).

I met the close of my pre-PhD odyssey with relief, as I was eager to get on with making a “real” difference with my new discipline. I little realized what an enriching experience the trip had been—something only doing this essay has helped me begin to grasp.

With my (then) wife, Susan, and our baby boys, Scott and Mark (both now practicing lawyers), we left to begin our post-PhD adventures in Philadelphia.

Postscript

Two matters warrant closing mention, each an important legacy from the past, reviewed above.

While still at college, visits home made clear the unexpected undoing of my old Brooklyn neighborhood. Despite misplaced reliance on *Costra Nostra* to protect the status quo, a large low-income public housing project was developed almost overnight at the edge of our urban village. Soon both old and new area residents suffered from soaring street crime rates and the contagion of racism.

Many old-timers moved, and five holdups in three years led my folks to reluctantly close their grocery and flee to Florida. “Brigadoon’s” passing underlined for me the suddenness of devastating events and the paucity of sociological tools with which to respond positively (Aronowitz 1973).

On the brighter side, while still at college, I enjoyed watching my younger brothers shape lives of action of their own, lives opposed to our neighborhood’s (ill-fated) fatalism. Stanley became a biology professor at Pitt and is one of its faculty union activists. Peter earned a

degree in hospital administration, and has ever since fought the Good Fight as an executive.

Not a bad record for offspring only one generation away from Ellis Island origins. Careful to appreciate changing times and circumstances, I find our bootstrap tale reassuring when, as an applied sociologist, I am trying to help others begin their ascent.

Summary

I hope you have found this exercise in reflection as rewarding as the journal editors and I would like. If so, please thank them and me by offering to soon share a similar autobiographical essay of your own; if not, please help us understand why, the better to help assure that the next essay in this series satisfies more of your hopes for it.

In either case, do consider pausing long enough in your practice to think about your pre-PhD odyssey, your own pathway into our community of applied sociologists—as insights possible from this exercise may enhance your practice and your life alike.

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Book Reviews

The Generality of Deviance, by Travis Hirschi and Michael R. Gottfredson. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1994. 272 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 1-56000-116-X.

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In *The Generality of Deviance*, the authors introduce one central theme that combines all forms of deviant and criminal behavior under one basic denominator which is the tendency of the actor to pursue immediate rewards without concern for long-term expected negative ramifications (punishments). The book features a prime theoretical framework in the social psychology of deviance, the self-management approach, as an explanatory tool, capable of interpreting various forms of deviant and criminal behavior. As a theory, I see it as a promising contribution to the field of criminology and deviance.

In a sort of theoretical equation, the authors argue that “all acts that share deviant features including criminal acts are likely to be engaged in by individuals usually sensitive to immediate pleasure and insensitive to long-term consequences” (p. 2). The authors offer another theoretical equation as they probe the social-psychological make-up of the actor. They contend that “the immediacy of the benefits of crime implies that they are obvious to the actor and that no specialization skills or learning is required” (p. 2). How can one then explain criminal behavior? The authors offer the equation that a “property of the actor,” namely “self-control,” is the key factor that determines the variations in the likelihood of engaging in such acts. These theoretical equations are a challenge to several giant traditional theories in the field of criminology and deviance.

The authors further argue that the variation in self-control is established early in life. They support their argument with researched evidence. The authors assert that deviant acts “follow a predictable path

over the life course, peaking in the middle to late teens and then declining steadily throughout life" (p. 2). Supported with evidence, this book is an investigation in which the authors identify what they refer to as the "latent trait" as the central contributing factor of deviant behavior. Through this factor they point out two main sources for deviance:

1. The statistical association among criminal and deviant acts, where the authors argue that the acts are heterogeneous because they occur in a variety of situations. The authors assume generality among their acts and insist that what they have in common somehow "resides in the person committing them" (p. 2).
2. The stability of difference between individuals over time. Here the authors contend that "individuals who relatively commit deviant acts at one point in time are more likely to commit crime at later points in time." Yet they ascribe these differences to a "persisting underlying trait possessed in different degrees" (p. 3).

In their theory the authors challenge the existing psychological explanations of crime and deviance. They see that psychological laboratory research confuses one form of aggression with another to the point where conformity is treated as deviance. As they apply their theory of self-control to explain aggression, the authors see no threat to the validity of their theory from the results of the psychology laboratory. Furthermore, the authors investigate the strength of their theory as they consider the relationship between deviance and the family. Self-control theory shows how family influence is a central determinant of deviance. This theory explicitly assigns to parents, or functionally equivalent adults, a major role in the development of self-control without denying that family institutions may affect the likelihood of crime in other ways as well (p. 47).

Self-control theory provokes another critical argument in criminology, that is the question of gender. The authors take the gender issue as a challenge to the theory and present the idea that gender is an opportunity variable. Their conceptualization explains gender differences without invoking any notion that males and females are differently motivated (p. 77).

A new insight the reader will find in this book is the notion that there is a relationship between accidents and crime. The authors con-

tend that "involvement in crime increases the probability of getting involved in accidents of all kinds" (p. 81). Their research presents a correlation between factors that are related to accident liability and those related to crime. The theory of self-control offers an explanation of motor vehicle accidents! The authors provide evidence which indicate that "those who are lacking self-control, show a tendency to violate not one but a host of social mores both consistently and simultaneously, including driving habits" (p. 131). Their research puts some emphasis on an issue of national and universal concern, i.e. "driving under the influence."

Another major social problem, to which the authors draw attention in this book, is alcohol and drug use. The authors argue that drug use shares other general properties of crime and delinquency. Drug use is versatile and the authors insist that drug use is as delinquency, a manifestation of low self-control.

Among other timely topics of concern, the book addresses the problem of rape and prostitution. The authors argue at this point that current theories of rape seem to "confuse rather than clarify" (p. 171). Thus they offer self-control theory as an alternative theory, which accounts for rape in the same way it accounts for all offenses. Self-control assumptions tend to challenge some contentions found in feminist theories.

On the issue of career criminals and specialization, the authors offer research results that reflect little evidence of specialization in crime and delinquency. Their investigations are presented in a two-class model: delinquents and nondelinquents. They argue that findings imply that offense specialization is unnecessary to describe the pattern of offending among offenders. The notion that race is a differential factor in committing offenses is not supported. The findings also do not support the notion that older and more experienced offenders tend to commit the same type of crime (p. 189).

Another challenging notion is that the "causes of committing one illegal act are the same as causes of committing many illegal acts" (p. 211). The authors here question the different causes of participation and frequency of illegal activity.

Finally the authors argue that delinquency in childhood has a "significant and very substantial relationship with a wide range of adult criminal behavior" (p. 248). Their research findings support other research and suggest the existence of underlying theoretical constructs that reflect a general tendency toward criminality and other troublesome behaviors" (p. 248).

This book engineers a new strategy in understanding and explaining deviance and criminality. It is a new and challenging tool in the field. I consider this work a sociological stimulant to "significant other" disciplines, with new research and new arguments.

Psychotherapy with the Orthodox Jew, by Herbert Strean. Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson Inc., 1994. 179 pp. \$30 cloth. ISBN 1-56821-230-5.

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Orthodox Jewry is a distinctive subculture. While no reliable epidemiological data is available to document mental illness within this population, all observers acknowledge the existence of problems requiring intervention. The insularity and world view of this community deter individuals from seeking assistance from mental health professionals. These providers are seen as ignorant of the complex web of Jewish laws governing individual and interpersonal behavior, or worse, of viewing these religious obligations as a source of the difficulties.

Steven Weiss best expresses the objective of the book in his dust jacket endorsement as "sensitizing the psychodynamically oriented psychotherapist to the complex and controversial issues surrounding the treatment of the Orthodox Jewish patient." Dr. Strean maintains that "devoutly religious individuals. . . can be helped therapeutically without fearing they are betraying or compromising their religious ideals and principles" (p. xiii). The author, a doctor of social work, does not convincingly support this premise because of a number of serious limitations in his presentation.

Orthodoxy is presented as a single monolithic subculture ignoring the significant variations within this community. All Orthodox Jews share a common commitment to complete religious observance derived from Sinaitic revelation and codified in normative works based on rabbinic scholarship. Yet, important differences divide Orthodox adherents. The division between modern and ultra-Orthodox is reflected by the attitude to secular education and the relation to Zionism and the state of Israel. The modern Orthodox attend college and are strongly Zionist. The term "haredi" has gained recent acceptance among scholars as a substitute for ultra-Orthodox which is value-laden and assumes

the speaker knows where the "center" of Orthodoxy is located. This camp is opposed to higher secular education and emotionally distant from and unidentified with institutional Zionism. The clear trend in both streams has been a drift to the right marked by an intensification of religious observance.

The suspicion of mental health practitioners in general and Freudian and neo-Freudian psychotherapy, in particular on the part of the "haredim," remains unabated. It is hard to imagine any members of this group becoming one of Dr. Strean's patients since this book, if anything, would reinforce their antipathy toward psychotherapy. In Chapters One and Six, the author presents his psychodynamic view of Orthodox Judaism. His depiction relies on contemporary works which try to explain the tenets of Judaism to an uninformed public. Without entering into a theological discourse, one can understand the reticence of Orthodox Jews to seek treatment from a therapist who characterizes "God as a fantasy, an imaginary notion" (p. 153) and who describes Orthodox Jews as "infuriated at God for not granting permanent peace on earth" and who therefore "have a propensity to turn their venom against themselves and become even more devout, subservient to and masochistic with their God" (p. 13) and the Orthodox Jewish male as taking "a negative oedipal or latent homosexual position with God" (p. 19). One is hard put to see how such positions would not be perceived as "compromising one's religious ideals."

The question then arises as to the characteristics of the "Orthodox" Jews who comprise the total of four cases (two male, two female) presented in the book. Two of the cases, while avowing Orthodox affiliation, are hardly recognizable as belonging to this group. The "Ardent Feminist" (Chapter Five), by virtue of her opinions and behavior, and the "Born-Again Orthodox Jew" (Chapter Four), as examples of individuals who were not raised in religious homes, are clearly not representative of Orthodox Jewry. The "Masochistic Rebbitzin" (Chapter Three), as a Yeshiva University graduate, falls within the modern Orthodox camp. "The Ambivalent Rabbi" (Chapter Two) might be viewed as Orthodox, but definitely not "haredi."

Since only these four cases are presented, we can hardly say that the book examines psychotherapy with Orthodox Jews as that term would be employed by sociologists and anthropologists. This shortcoming highlights the need for the perspective of clinical sociology which would bring an understanding of cultural factors and the dynamics of sub-group formation to the clinical process. The limitations of this review do not allow discussion of other significant variations within Orthodoxy such

as those between "chassidim" and "misnagdim" and between Sefardic, East European and German Jews. In addition, it is uncertain what percentage of individuals in any of these groups could afford the four to five years of treatment provided each of Dr. Strean's patients.

The author's case material makes interesting use of the theoretical technical constructs of transference and countertransference. This has potential broad applicability. Transference refers to the process by which the patient reexperiences critical early events precipitated by personal reactions to the therapist. The effective therapist, by encouraging and managing this process, can help the patient resolve interpsychic tensions. This technique relates to a broader question of interest to social scientists, namely the relationship between researcher and subjects. While clients are frequently not conscious of the effect the therapist is having on them, the trained clinician can use these reactions to good advantage. Sociologists are much less likely to look at themselves as research instruments that can be "administered" to evoke responses from subjects. In one of the few sociological studies of this type (Schwartzbaum & Gruenfeld 1969), subject reaction to the observer was used to distinguish supervisors who were well integrated into the organization from those supervisors who are tense and anxious about their work. One would predict that researchers with different personal characteristics would elicit different reactions from subjects. Thus, the therapeutic situation including transference episodes might follow a different course if the client were to identify the therapist as a member of his or her own subculture. This possibility is never considered by Dr. Strean.

The author's discussion of the neo-Freudian construct of countertransference, where the therapist analyzes his or her own feelings toward the client, also serves to sensitize researchers to monitor their personal reactions. Through introspective analysis of the nature of these feelings, the researcher or therapist may gain additional insights about the subjects or clients. It is this very question of the feelings and reactions of the therapist which raised particularly difficult concerns for this reviewer. It is my strong impression that the author is uncomfortable with his own Judaism (which is only revealed tangentially), and that these feelings color many of his interpretations. Independent of the validity of this judgment, the question still remains of whether any therapy with Orthodox Jews (or any devout or pietistic group) can be effectively delivered by clinicians ideologically uncomfortable with the belief system of their clients. The perspectives of clinical sociology are well suited for a systematic exploration of this issue.

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Social Work Malpractice and Liability: Strategies for Prevention, by Frederic G. Reamer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. 242 pp. \$22.50 paper. ISBN 0-231-08263-0

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The fortuitous 1994 publication of *Social Work Malpractice and Liability* could not have been better timed as we currently reexamine US social policy. This work by Frederic G. Reamer, Professor in the School of Social Work at Rhode Island College, is only the most recent in a string of articles and books by him on ethics and legal issues dating back to 1979. As clinical sociology and sociological practice move into fields crowded by other professional titles, it is fortunate that literature already exists to help us through the morass of malpractice and liability issues.

This 242 page book should be required reading. Reamer provides the reader with a short course in law, while making no pretense to be a lawyer or to outwit them. He carefully defines legal concepts in layman's language. To name only a few, he examines privacy, confidentiality (relative and absolute), standards of care, acts of commission, misfeasance, malfeasance, torts (unintentional and intentional), and the doctrine of *res ipsa loquitur* (the act speaks for itself). Each term is then followed by legal case history examples which tell the practitioner not only what is generally accepted as good practice, but the author goes further and gives examples of contrary cases as well.

For example, Reamer discusses in detail the Tarasoff case, the 1976 landmark precedent in duty-to-warn and duty-to-protect cases. The California Supreme Court held that a mental health professional has a duty to protect an intended victim from harm, even if that means disclosing confidential information. After describing several other cases which followed the Tarasoff decision, the author then presents a number of contrary decisions. He doesn't just give the reader primary material in an encyclopedic fashion, but, as in the Tarasoff example, follows the case presentations with additional material on the finer points: "Balancing Confidentiality and Protection," "The Ambiguity of *Duty to Warn*," and "The Concept of Privileged Communication."

Many of the cases cited involved psychiatrists. Medicine has more often been the recipient of lawsuits than other helping professions; but as the author points out, "90 percent of all malpractice suits ever filed in the United States have been filed in the last twenty to twenty-five years" (p. 4). Other professions outside of medicine are only now beginning to catch up. Along with the new opportunities afforded to practice sociology is a climate which is more adversarial in nature than at any previous time.

Reamer covers the work of the private practitioner, the supervisor, and consultation. He devotes a chapter to improper treatment and impaired practitioners. As he is writing primarily to a social work audience, he castigates that field for its lack of research into impaired social workers. His standard of comparison is psychology. For the sociological practitioner, this should be a wake up call to police ourselves before the courts do it for us.

Other items covered include referral, record keeping, deception and fraud, termination of services, and concluding observations on the social worker as a defendant. The Sociological Practice Association *Ethical Standards*, modeled after the standards for psychologists, documents seven primary principles: 1) responsibility, 2) competence, 3) moral and legal standards, 4) public statements, 5) confidentiality, 6) welfare of the student, client and research subject, and 7) regard for professionals and institutions. Although this book does not cover all of these areas, it presents so much material so well, that it is a must at this time of great social upheaval.

Postmodernism & Social Inquiry, edited by David R. Dickens and Andrea Fontana. New York: The Guilford Press. 1994. 259 pp. \$40.00 cloth. ISBN 0-89862-415-0. \$18.95 paper. ISBN 0-89862-422-3.

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Postmodernism & Social Inquiry is a constructive attempt to bridge the often wide divide between ever multiplying postmodern frameworks and sociological theory and methods. Sociologists should welcome this book. The authors have succeeded in demonstrating both the value and limits of various postmodern theories for sociological inquiry.

Despite its ambitious agenda, the book is relatively short. Consequently, numerous theorists, approaches and debates are missing. As a reader with particular interests in the postcolonial theory of Gayatri

Spivak, queer theory [see "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities" *differences* 3(2):1991], and the lively feminist/postmodernist debates, I was disappointed that neither of the representative feminist chapters by Sondra Farganis and Andrea Fontana addressed these theorists or debates (nor did any of the other chapters, for that matter). Inattention to significant postcolonial, feminist, and queer theorists is particularly salient given the very focused attention allocated to other approaches. Whole chapters are devoted to one or two figures. David Ashley discusses Jean Baudrillard and Jean-Francois Lyotard. David R. Dickens describes the work of Daniel Bell and Fredric Jameson. Steven Best provides a very useful historical and analytical introduction to Michel Foucault who, I would argue as Best does, clearly has much to offer sociological inquiry. Here again I would have appreciated some attention to the extensive critique of Foucault's work by feminist theorists [see *Feminism and Foucault: Reflects on Resistance* edited by Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988)]. Readers with different interests may find other perspectives lacking. What may be called for is a subsequent volume that will include contemporary critiques of the postmodern frames addressed by *Postmodernism & Social Inquiry*.

Each author is faced with the challenging task of teaching us about the relevant work of the theorists they discuss, demonstrating how their approaches could be drawn into the theory and practice of sociology as well as critically assessing their usefulness for social inquiry. I was impressed with the authors' clarity of presentation as well as the critical stance they took with regard to assessing the value of each postmodern approach for sociology. The less satisfying chapters were the ones that created broad categories within a specific frame rather than address the work of particular theorists. For example, Farganis glosses over the contested terrain of feminist theories in a three stage periodization beginning with a "stage one" of liberal feminism. The challenges posed to liberal feminism by socialist feminism, third world and black feminisms, lesbian feminism and radical feminism are missing in this staged presentation. Her second stage conflates so-called "cultural feminism" and feminist standpoint epistemologies. When she moves to discuss what she calls "the third phase" of feminist theory, the joining of feminist theory with postmodernism, she mistakenly cites as an illustration Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna's discussion of gender "as a continuum, not a dichotomy" (p. 107). Depiction of gender "as a continuum," I would argue, is not necessarily a postmodern move. Here

was a logical place to introduce the reader to Judith Butler's analysis [see, for example, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990)].

The second half of the book addresses "postmodern research methods" and differs from the first half in detailing particular applications of postmodern theories. M. Gottdiener's chapter on semiotics provides a schema that contrasts sociosemiotics "with the received orthodoxy of the French postmodern school and especially with its reduction of cultural analysis to textual analysis alone" (p.177) that should appeal to those eager for some clear guidelines. Norman Denzin draws upon his research on the film *The Morning After* to illustrate how he incorporates "deconstructionism within the interpretive tradition" (p. 182). As an ethnographer, I especially appreciated Fontana's chapter on "Ethnographic Trends in the Postmodern Era" where he effectively blends together key anthropological and sociological accounts as well as some useful illustrations of the dilemmas posed by postmodern critiques of field-work methods. Robert Goldman and Steven Papson advance a fascinating analysis of the short-lived "Reebok Lets UBU" ad campaign. It is of special interest that the editors choose to end their collection with this chapter which argues against a postmodernism that "glosses over the relations of capitalist production" (p. 247). They explain:

Reebok continues to seek cheaper, more docile, labor in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, postmodern analysts show no more interest in discussing this side of commodity production than does Reebok. (p. 249).

This book is a worthwhile resource for sociologists interested in gaining familiarity with the multiple faces of postmodern theories. The editors are wise to provide some guideposts for "a sociology of postmodernism" as well as "a postmodern sociology" (p. 19). This short volume will do more than simply inform. It should prompt the reader to take postmodern critiques seriously as challenges to the thinking and doing of sociology as well as a new focus of study. This book could also serve as a very accessible text for upper division undergraduates and graduate students alike. I highly recommend it.

The Chronic Crisis in Psychological Measurement and Assessment: A Historical Survey, by Scott T. Meier. San Diego, California: AP Professional, A Division of Harcourt Brace & Company, 1994. 290pp. \$54.95 cloth. ISBN 0-12-488440-7.

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Scott T. Meier has written an excellent nontraditional book that traces the development of the field of psychological testing and assessment from a sociohistorical perspective. The book is organized into eight chapters, each dealing with a different aspect of the psychological measurement and assessment controversy.

In Chapter One Meier gives readers a general overview of the theoretical foundations that underlie the various statistical measures that psychologists (and others) may utilize to predict test reliability and validity.

Chapter Two explores the historical controversies surrounding issues associated with the development of universal psychological testing strategies designed to measure behavioral characteristics that are common to all human beings in society. Meier contends that a review of research conducted by psychologists over the last several decades clearly indicates that systematic response errors in self-report testing situations are caused by inconsistencies in how individuals respond to those situations. Meier posits that the categorization of systematic response errors are strongly linked to the item response strategies that individuals use when they take psychological tests. There are cognitive, affective, motivational, behavioral, and environmental factors that play an important role in influencing the behavioral reactions of individuals to the testing situations to which they are exposed.

In the closing section of this chapter Meier argues that the degree of match between the testing instrument and the test taker's cognitive, affective, and behavioral states and traits are strongly related to the generative response strategies that individuals utilize in testing situations. The greater the number and degree of behavioral, affective, cognitive mismatches between the test instrument and test taker traits, the greater will be the utilization of individual response strategies which tends to lower the overall face validity and reliability of the testing instrument (pp. 68-69).

Chapter Three examines the issue of consistency of psychological measurement as it is applied to employment and clinical interview situations. Meier argues that psychological information that is collected in clinical interview situations is highly susceptible to rater bias. A review of the research findings documented in the historical literature on rater bias by the author revealed that practitioners often make clinical judgments about the behavior of their clients that are not correct. Meier contends, that rater observations of client test performance are often influenced by psychosocial variables such as social stereotypes, supervisor appraisals of job performance, and level of psychological stress which are all human factors that are not directly related to the predictive objectivity of the testing process.

In the closing section of this chapter Meier posits, that individual self reports and all other clinical rating systems used by psychologists to measure human test performance are subject to similar problems of systematic error which are related to the formation of rater impressions of the ratee (p. 89). Clinical raters and self reporters often fail to take into account the full range of available information about the human characteristics they observe in both clinical and scientific testing situations. He therefore recommends that raters receive more intensified professional training in the behavioral assessment procedures that would allow them to make more concrete and valid judgements about the clinical and empirical phenomena they analyze.

In Chapter Four Meier turns reader's attention to an empirical discussion of one of the most important controversies in the field of psychological measurement and assessment: *The Trait versus State debate*. The core of the controversy in this debate, according to the author, is whether consistency of human performance across testing situations is caused by long-standing personality traits which are stable or by internal psychological variables such as human motivation that may be reinforced by external factors in the testing environment. A review of the findings of studies conducted by researchers over the last two decades, found that both of these factors play a critical role in shaping the level of performance that an individual will exhibit in specific testing situations. Later in the chapter Meier discusses how these concepts may be applied to the assessment of a variety of behavioral reinforcement, psycho-therapeutic and vocational counseling modalities used in the treatment of clients.

In Chapter Five Meier examines the historical foundations of the concept of construct validity as it is applied to the field of psychological

measurement. He reviews two of the most important and controversial ideas to emerge from the study of construct validity: convergent and discriminant test validity. These two concepts were first developed by Campbell and Fiske in the 1950's. Their ground-breaking research on construct validity set forth the theoretical and pragmatic foundations for the development of empirical methods for evaluating the construct validity of psychological tests.

In Chapter Six Meier surveys the history of some of the most important existing and innovative approaches utilized by clinical and research psychologists to objectively measure and assess human characteristics. He examines the historical development of current work in the field from five different empirical perspectives: traditional, statistically oriented, cognitive, behavioral assessment, and computer-based approaches. The author discusses the strengths and weaknesses that underlie the theoretical and methodological foundations of each of these approaches as well as their practical application to clinical assessment and intervention situations.

In Chapter Seven Meier reviews the four most important components of the psychological measurement and assessment process: test construction, administration, scoring and interpretation within the context of three major measurement and assessment purpose situations: selection, clinical intervention and theory building.

In Chapter Eight Meier closes out his book with some conclusions and speculations about the overall costs and benefits of the use of psychological tests in decision-making situations. Meier contends that a paradox exists within the psychological community with regard to the true purpose of testing. The core of the paradox centers on the sharp criticisms of psychological measurement by academic psychologists on the one hand, and the widespread use and acceptance of current testing methods and procedures by practitioners on the other. Meier concludes that since research shows that current techniques used in psychological measurement are only applicable to certain decision-making situations and not to others, researchers should devote their professional time and energy to finding new ways to improve the effectiveness of current measurement and assessment modalities.

In sum, the book gives readers a wealth of important information about the many controversial issues and problems that beset the field of psychological measurement and assessment. The statistical information described in each chapter is presented to readers in a concise and understandable manner. I would highly recommend that this book be included

on the reading list of professional psychologists who are developing graduate level courses in the area of psychological measurement and assessment. The book would also make a valuable resource for practitioners working in community-based clinical settings that provide psychological testing services to individuals and families with mental health problems.

Student Aggression: Prevention, Management, and Replacement Training, by Arnold P. Goldstein, Berj Harootunian, and Jane Close Conoley. New York: The Guilford Press, 1994. 280 pp., \$28.95 cloth. ISBN 0-89862-246-8.

School Interventions for Children of Alcoholics, by Bonnie K. Nastasi and Denise M. DeZolt. New York: The Guilford Press, 1994. x + 275 pp., \$25.00 cloth. ISBN 0-89862-367-7.

Harris Chaiklin

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The books under consideration here offer school-based solutions for children of alcoholics and those who are aggressive. They are designed to be implemented by teachers alone or with the assistance of school psychologists.

Nastasi and DeZolt are concerned with helping the children of alcoholics cope with school. The major vehicle for assistance is a K-12 program, called ESCAPE, which is fashioned to facilitate children's ability to develop survival skills. Primary instruments in the program are story telling and cooperative learning.

The rationale for the program is evolved by reviewing theory. The authors opt for a social constructionist view of the world. The influence of family alcoholism on children is explained in terms of an ecological-developmental perspective. This rationale is "supported" by a long and unclear literature review. Small group laboratory results and field experiment results are presented so that it is difficult to distinguish between them. While they report positive outcomes for the methods they propose, they also note that the staying power of the numerous behavioral studies they cite is not of long duration.

There is a thorough presentation of the design, implementation, and evaluation of the program. In addition, there is a good listing of useful audio-visual and bibliographic resources. In short, this is a manual for a specific approach to teaching children coping skills. There is nothing in

it that is distinctive in the children of alcoholics. It could be used with any problem child.

Goldstein, Harootunian, and Conoley deal with the broader problem of aggression. The book is well-written. The authors have a talent for summing up theory and the positions of others. They develop their argument by first reviewing the problem and the nature of prevention. They are in favor of a comprehensive approach that assumes multiple causes. Toward this end they review the following student-oriented interventions: psychological skills training, behavior modification techniques, psychodynamic and humanistic interventions, and gang-oriented interventions. The final part reviews teacher, school, and family system oriented interventions. The presentation of the material is excellent.

What these volumes have in common is that their authors share the belief that it is the teacher who is to implement programs designed to work with difficult children. They are aware of the difference between preparing teachers with general techniques for creating a supportive classroom environment or handling specific incidents, but they do not draw a clear line between this and therapy. They see their program activities as being integrated with classroom learning. It has been this reviewer's experience that any time the school teacher is asked to take on a role in addition to education, both the people concerned and education suffer.

There is an air of unreality about these volumes. They hold that the large number of positive studies that are cited give some indication that something is known about how to work with these problems. Their analyses and programs reflect conventional wisdom. The trouble with what everybody knows should work is that it doesn't. These programs have no chance of implementation in the large urban school systems which have high proportions of problem youth. These systems are chronically short of any professional therapeutic help and they may not attract the best professional teachers for the faculty.

Programs which show short-term results when implemented under ideal conditions are not going to have much impact on either of these problems. New ideas, perhaps based in computer usage, are needed. They have to be capable of implementation and it certainly would help if they could attract new funds and resources or spur shifting those that are available. They have to be able to inspire demoralized urban school personnel. That means there must be change. This is difficult in any bureaucracy.

In sum, the volume on children of alcoholics proposes a specific program for working with this category of students in school. The vol-

ume on student aggression is a sophisticated analysis of the problem which proposes a multicausally-based, comprehensive school-based intervention to deal with the problem. They are two more statements about doing the right thing. Unfortunately, something more is needed.

Frames of Remembrance, by Iwona Irwin-Zarecka. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1994. 214 pp. \$32.95 cloth. ISBN 1-56000-138-0

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Iwona Irwin-Zarecka's treatise on collective memory may be of interest to those clinical sociologists interested in the construction of reality by "communities of memory" be they subcultures or the dominant culture.

In addition to the three narrative portions of the book, a fourth part provides a bibliography of English and French sources annotated with the author's comments about their usefulness for students of memory.

The book is in essence a series of essays concerning the importance of memory and how it is framed through public and private manipulation. The essential first part sets the Analytical Parameters where all readers are advised to start. From here it is suggested that one can pick and choose which chapters to read in whatever order desired. Indeed she suggests that Chapter Two, The "Ultimate Challenge," be left to read as a conclusion. An essential point regarding the formation and longevity of memory is that memory lies not so much in the minds of people but in the resources they use to remember. Resources may include public records, documentaries, books, and stories. But just because resources are available doesn't mean people will use them. Selective interpretation is used to "fit the data" into one's belief system, thus preserving integration.

Part II deals with the relevance of memory. What role does memory play for people and how does the past become important? This section demonstrates the fact that all memory of the same event isn't necessarily the same for all participants or witnesses. Memory conflict and the degree to which different groups, public and private, vie for their interpretation is dealt with in Chapter Four. The notion of framing as an analytical tool, borrowed from Erving Goffman's work, deals with how the public explanation of events exerts a powerful influence over how individuals interpret or make sense out of past events be they recent or

historical in nature. Agreeing with Goffman, the author is a situational determinist when it comes to explaining how people interpret their experiences and she asserts that the definition of the situation is largely a function of how things are framed. Shared frames of reference help explain behavior. Lacking a similar frame makes it difficult to understand or appreciate why people behave the way they do. Understanding the frame explains such things as why the Serbs and Croats are killing each other.

Part III is a provocative section that deals with what has been left out of our memory either from forgetfulness or by deliberate omission to control interpretation. Here we see the reverse of the "Big Lie": "That which is not publicly known and spoken about will be socially forgotten." The role of women, blacks, and others in history are examples of forgotten events which determined groups are now attempting to rectify through memory projects of different kinds.

As multiculturalism gains public favor more and more subcultural groups will press for greater recognition of their place in history. Using Canada as an example, she raises the specter of greater divisiveness in society which this ethnic "meism" may engender. These moves to highlight the accomplishments and self-worth of one's subculture may militate against the melting pot concept of an integrated community.

Ms. Irwin-Zarecka has made another significant contribution to what is becoming a major field of social science inquiry. Her plea for cross-disciplinary work is well taken. However, characterizing herself as a cultural sociologist is less boundary lessening than if she said that she is simply a social scientist. Perhaps her frame of reference wouldn't allow this!

Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment, and Pride, edited by June Price Tangney and Kurt W. Fischer. New York: The Guilford Press, 1995. 542 pp., \$45.00 cloth. ISBN 0-89862-264-6
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Social scientists with an interest in emotions and behavior will find much to offer in this volume of current research and theory on self-conscious emotions. Drawing from developmental and clinical psychology, psychiatry, and sociology, this collection emphasizes the social basis of self-conscious emotions and describes their general characteristics. Several chapters provide useful reviews of theoretical and empirical literature on self-conscious emotions. However, except for

Scheff's chapter, and a nod or two to Goffman, the authors overlook the many contributions of sociological theory to the understanding of "the social grounding of emotions" (e.g., Cooley, Mead, Collins, etc.).

Divided into six sections by theme, Part I opens with an introductory chapter that provides an overview of the book's functionalist approach. The substance of the book begins with Part II—Frames for The Study of Self-Conscious Emotions—featuring conceptualization and research on these particular emotions. Barrett's chapter, "A Functional-ist Approach to Shame and Guilt," proposes a model of shame and guilt development that focuses on the significance of these affects to the individual and to society. In Chapter Three, "Developmental Transformations in Appraisals for Pride, Shame, and Guilt," Mascolo and Fischer look at appraisal patterns as they examine changes in self-evaluative emotions from infancy, to adolescence and adulthood. This part concludes with "Shame and Guilt in Interpersonal Relationships," as Tangney provides an overview of the differences between shame and guilt in motivational and interpersonal functionings, suggesting that they are not equally effective or "moral" emotions. Guilt for example, is associated with reparative strategies that are likely to strengthen and enhance interpersonal relationships; the self-focused experience of shame is linked to avoidance, withdrawal, and other-blaming, behaviors that impede constructive actions in interpersonal contexts.

Development of Self-Conscious Emotions—Part III—provides insights on the nature and etiology of these emotions among children from late infancy to middle childhood. First, Zahn-Wexler and Robinson, "Empathy and Guilt: Early Origins of Feelings of Responsibility" explore the development and the commonalities and differences of guilt and empathy in young children. In Chapter Six, "Emotional States and Traits in Children: The Case of Guilt and Shame," Ferguson and Stegge focus on 5-12 year olds and report preliminary results from an empirical study on parental correlates of children's guilt and shame reactions. Lewis, "Embarrassment: The Emotion of Self-Exposure and Evaluation," examines the origins of embarrassment and how it manifests in children. In Chapter Eight, "A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Pride, Shame, and Embarrassment," Griffin offers a theoretical framework for a central conceptual structure that underlies children's experience and understanding of these emotions. Part III concludes with "The Development of Pride and Shame in Toddlers," in which Stipek emphasizes self-evaluation in "achievement contexts" and the emotional reactions of young children.

The social foundations and consequences of self-conscious emotions provide the theme for Part IV—Self-Conscious Emotions and Social Behavior. Starting off this section, Baumeister, Stillwell, and Heatherton, "Interpersonal Aspects of Guilt: Evidence from Narrative Studies," propose that guilt, occurring between and within individuals, functions as protection and support for interpersonal relationships. Using a phenomenological methodology, Lindsay-Hartz, DeRivera, and Mascolo report on the development and testing of structural descriptions of shame and guilt in "Differentiating Guilt and Shame and Their Effects on Motivation." Chapter Twelve, "You Always Hurt The One You Love: Guilt and Transgressions against Relationship Partners" by Jones, Kugler, and Adams, makes the link between personal relationships and guilt its central issue. This part's final chapter, Miller's "Embarrassment and Social Behavior" emphasizes the personal and interactive sources and consequences of embarrassment.

The links between self-conscious emotions and various psychopathologies constitute Part V—Self-Conscious Emotions and Psychology. This portion begins with Tangney, Burggraf, and Wagner, "Shame-Proneness, Guilt-Proneness, and Psychological Symptoms," who contend that shame rather than guilt is associated with maladjustment. However, in "Shame and Guilt Assessment, and Relationships of Shame-and Guilt-Proneness to Pathology," Harder argues that guilt is more important to symptomology than the current emphasis on shame would suggest. This is followed by Chapter Sixteen, "Conflict in Family Systems: The Role of Shame," in which Scheff explores the problem of interminable conflict in families as he develops a theory of conflict systems. The section ends with "Shame, Guilt, and The Oedipal Drama: Developmental Considerations," as Emde and Oppenheim bring a fresh look at the Oedipal Complex by integrating broader social and cultural factors and considering their regulatory importance.

The final section, Part VI—Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Self-Conscious Emotions—examines continuities and discontinuities in these emotions across cultures. First, in Chapter Eighteen, "Culture, Self, and Emotion: A Cultural Perspective on "Self-Conscious Emotions," Kitayama, Markus, and Matsumoto examine the variation in affect as it relates to a view of the self as either independent or interdependent. Wallbott and Scherer follow with "Cultural Determinants in Experiencing Shame and Guilt," an analysis of the influence of certain cultural values (e.g., collectivism and individualism) on shame and guilt experiences. The concluding chapter "Self-Conscious Emotions, Child Rear-

ing and Child Psychopathology” by Miyake and Yamazaki discusses the problems in Japan of school refusal, violent children in the home, and *taijin-kyohfu*, a delusional social phobia. Symptoms of *taijin-kyohfu* appear during the teenage years as sufferers are crushed by doubt and anxiety, sense that they are repugnant to others, and live in fear of the actions of others which the youths interpret as reflections of disgust.

The volume ends with a useful appendix, “Self-Conscious Emotions: Measures and Methods,” a partial list (20) of the measurement methods and techniques used by the authors: Measures of Shame and Guilt, Socialization of Shame and Guilt, Measures of Embarrassment, and Measures of Pride. A brief description is given of each measure, along with its authors, source, and availability.

Résumés en Français

Une étape cruciale dans l'élaboration de la socianalyse.
L'intervention sur un atelier d'imprimerie

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Selon le point de vue des auteurs, une intervention clinique ne peut être conduite sans un outil technique approprié. C'est pourquoi la socianalyse a été fondée sur la construction d'un outil susceptible de satisfaire à une contrainte technique de l'intervention clinique, celle d'une intégration suffisante du diagnostic, du changement et de l'évaluation. Le présent article revient sur un cas ancien (1958) à l'occasion duquel certaines conditions de validité de cette intégration ont été repérées.

Ce repérage s'est effectué en deux temps. Dans une première phase, de façon traditionnelle, une campagne d'interviews, complétée par une enquête par questionnaire, a été menée au sein d'un atelier d'imprimerie. Les données issues de l'exploitation des interviews et des questionnaires ont été communiquées à tous les participants et discutées en commun. Une seconde phase a pris la forme d'une co-investigation entre les membres de l'atelier et l'équipe d'intervention: un travail d'analyse a été conduit sur les bases d'une technique socianalytique en cours d'ajustement. Au cours de ce travail, les membres de l'atelier ont progressivement élaboré leur propre diagnostic. Cette production en continu a permis aux participants de modifier leurs perceptions mutuelles, de repérer le jeu des interdépendances et d'imaginer de nouvelles modalités de gestion de leur atelier.

Le constat de cette capacité d'auto-diagnostic et la prise en compte des conditions de son émergence et de son efficacité ont conduit les auteurs à centrer leur travail sur la construction d'un outil intégré d'investigation et d'intervention. Les conséquences de cette option de méthode sont analysées.

Quelques caractéristiques du développement ultérieur de l'outil socianalytique sont mentionnées. La médiation des constructions discordantes de l'expérience sexuelle de la jeunesse: une étude de cas

L'appréhension socioémotionnelle et la récréation

Beverley Cuthbertson Johnson, Ph.D., CCS

Un cadre socioémotionnel pour la conduite de la sociologie clinique y est amené. Des études de cas sont présentées comme des exemples de deux procédés essentiels de la sociologie clinique: *l'appréhension socioémotionnelle* et *la récréation*. On insiste surtout sur le rôle que joue des contextes socioculturels (et spécifiques et généraux) sur les profils émotionnels des individus et de la société en totalité. On y discute comment les sociologistes cliniques sont spécialement versés dans la facilitation des individus à développer *l'émotionnalité responsable* et la *responsabilité émotionnelle* pendant qu'ils explorent, réfléchissent sur, comprennent, et choisissent à recréer, individuellement et en groupe, le Moi particulier et d'autres modèles et procédés émotionnels destructifs, aussi bien que les contextes socioculturels qui contribuent à ces modèles et procédés.

Des femmes plus âgées, des hommes plus jeunes: le Moi et la flétrissure dans les relations des couples de différents âges.

Carol A. B. Warren

Cette étude, basée sur des interviews intenses avec des femmes plus âgées et des hommes plus jeunes qui sont mariés, co-habitants, ou divorcés, explore l'effet que produit ce type de différence sur leurs relations et sur leur Moi. Et les femmes et les hommes se rendaient compte du potentiel pour la flétrissure dans leurs relations, surtout la possibilité que la femme puisse être prise comme la mère de l'homme (ce qui est

quelquefois arrivé, en effet). Bien que la peur des couples de la réaction d'autrui ait diminué avec du temps, l'effet de la flétrissure sur leur sens du Moi restait. Pour la femme, son Moi concrétisé—corps et visage—était le plus problématique. Pour l'homme, c'était le Moi cohorte: sa manque d'histoire partagée avec sa femme, la distance entre lui et ses pairs d'âge, et la précipitation dans d'autres rôles contradictoires à son âge, tel que celui de grand-père. Et les hommes et les femmes ont développé des techniques de neutralisation pour contrarier la flétrissure, des techniques qui n'ont été mises en question que sous des conditions de divorce ou de problèmes matrimoniaux, et sous l'intervention clinique.

Solidarité locale et familles défavorisées: une approche clinique peut-elle être conscientisante?

Professeur Nérée St-Amand

Cet article cherche à déterminer si une approche clinique peut dépasser les frontières existant entre chercheurs et familles défavorisées, tout en évaluant les possibilités qu'une approche clinique soit conscientisante. La recherche canadienne dont il est ici question avait pour objectif d'explorer le dynamisme et la débrouillardise des familles démunies, leurs possibilités de se prendre en charge et le rôle que peuvent jouer les chercheurs dans ce processus d'appropriation. L'auteur démontre que même si une approche clinique implique des liens plus étroits entre chercheurs et populations défavorisées, elle n'encourage pas nécessairement une analyse structurelle compromettante et des pratiques d'emprise. Pour effectuer cette démonstration, l'article propose des points de convergence et quelques endroits de divergence entre une approche clinique et celle qu'il a utilisée.

La reconstruction du Moi: l'emploi des groupes d'instruction profonde chez des enfants adultes d'alcooliques

Sandra Coyle

Ce papier explore l'emploi du modèle du groupe d'instruction profonde dans l'affirmation des effets auto-transformatifs qui sont souvent éprouvés chez les membres des groupes «aide-toi toi-même» pour les Enfants Adultes d'Alcooliques. Une discussion théorique de la

construction et de la reconstruction du soi est dérivée des principes de l'interaction symbolique, de la construction sociale, et de la théorie narrative. Le groupe d'instruction profonde (GIP) est présenté comme un contexte dans lequel les histoires de vie des membres peuvent atteindre une signification augmentée quand elles sont considérées des points de vue intellectuel et émotionnel. On propose aussi les avantages à incorporer des principes supplémentaires de la théorie émotionnelle spécifiques à la resocialisation émotionnelle dans le modèle GIP. Des histoires qui exemplifient des changements dans la conception du soi ont été échangées par les membres d'un groupe des Enfants Adultes d'Alcooliques pendant une séance GIP d'une journée qui a eu lieu en janvier 1995.

L'évaluation de l'atténuation: la préparation pour un procès capital

Ann Charvat, Ph.D., C.C.S.

Le but de cet article est de commencer à définir sociologiquement un étalon légal par lequel les cours peuvent mitiger les facteurs qui puissent influencer la sentence de mort. L'article décrit aussi une méthode d'enquête qui rend raisonnable cette définition. La matière ci-présentée est destinée à servir comme un guide pour l'enquête des circonstances atténuantes dans la phase de jugement d'un procès capital. Ce papier esquisse une méthode d'enquête historique qui a été démontrée efficace dans le développement de l'évidence dans la phase de jugement du procès. Elle est utile, et comme une fondation pour le témoignage sociologique expert, et bien pour fournir une fondation solide pour les experts d'autres disciplines.

La médiation des constructions discordantes de l'expérience sexuelle de la jeunesse: une étude de cas

Lynnell J. Simonson, C.C.S.

Ce papier décrit une étude de cas où il s'agit de deux enfants en âge d'école primaire et de leurs expériences sexuelles ensemble. La jeune fille a interprété l'expérience comme de l'abus, et le jeune garçon a défini l'expérience comme de l'exploration. Les facteurs culturels,

environnementaux, et structuraux qui peuvent avoir contribué à cette différence d'interprétation sont présentés. L'auteur discute les critères employés à distinguer entre l'exploration sexuelle et l'abus sexuel chez deux enfants, et adresse la difficulté qu'il y a à appliquer ces modèles au comportement sexuel normal des enfants. Une étude de cas est présentée qui se sert du paradigme constructionniste pour médier les interprétations discordantes des événements, afin que les deux définitions de la situation soit reconnues comme authentiques. L'étude de cas présente une situation où il peut être de l'intérêt de tous concernés de valider les perceptions de la réalité des deux enfants. Enfin, l'auteur conclut avec une discussion détaillée des méthodes de médiation employées pour résoudre le conflit insoluble, et les questions éthiques posées par leur emploi.

La sociologie clinique dans l'éducation de service

C. Margaret Hall

Des expériences dans des cours de stage d'enseignement illustrent quelques-uns des avantages de l'enseignement de la pratique sociologique par moyen de service à la communauté. Par exemple, une exigence du cours de passer neuf heures de chaque semaine d'un trimestre dans un groupe d'appui fournit une variété plus riche d'opportunités aux étudiants d'apprendre sur le compte d'eux-mêmes, de la société, de la théorie sociologique, et des méthodologies de recherche, que ce qui est possible dans les classes conférence-discussion conventionnelles. En plus, l'acte de participer dans des interventions sociologiques accroît la connaissance des étudiants des concerns éthiques associées, aussi bien que de la complexité des problèmes sociaux, et comment définir des solutions viables, et individuelles et collectives.

Des leçons apprises de l'évaluation d'un projet d'association communautaire de cinq années

Ann Marie Ellis

En se rappelant une subvention pour une association communautaire de cinq années, les sociologistes participants qui ont évalué le projet

notent quelques leçons importantes qu'ils ont appris de l'expérience. Des problèmes discutés dans ce papier comprennent des difficultés dans la collection des données de base opportunes, la transition dans les équipes d'évaluation et ses effets sur le dessein de la recherche, les stratégies de collection des données qui produisent des images variées des effets du programme, des problèmes dans l'emploi des données existantes, et d'autres questions au sujet de l'évaluation d'une intervention en pleine communauté. On fait des recommandations qui s'adressent à ces questions, et on fait des arguments en faveur de l'emploi des méthodes qualitatives de même que quantitatives dans des projets d'évaluation des communautés.